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Who ought to win ?
Oom Paul or Queen Victoria ?

Thomas Patrick O'Connor

No. .....

Frederick Franklin Schrader.

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WHO OUGHT TO WIN?

OOM PAUL OR QUEEN VICTORIA?

A HISTORY

OF THE DUTCH-ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE PRESENT DAY

With Letters graphically describing the Wonderful Bravery of the Boer and British Armies

BY

SPENCER RANDOLPH

MAP, PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

CHICAGO

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EXPLANATORY WORDS.

In the following pages, the writer has endeavored to place before his readers, the salient features of Boer history. It was his purpose to be impartial in the relation of such part of it as affects Great Britain. The object contemplated, was to enable those who are sceptical in regard to the moral claim to sympathy, by the one side or the other of the belligerents, to reach a just conclusion as to which party is the better entitled to it. The work is not wholly free from bias, but it is no stronger than has been inseparable from a truthful delineation of incidents in Anglo-Boer history. To a friend, who has been living for nigh a quarter century in South Africa, I am indebted for whatever of a novel character may be found in the book.

THE AUTHOR.

February, 1900.

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WHO OUGHT TO WIN?

OOM PAUL, OR QUEEN VICTORIA?

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

The issue which has arisen in South Africa, between the British and the Boers, suggests the necessity for investigation as to which one of the belligerents has the stronger claim to the sympathy of neutral peoples. To reach an impartial and just conclusion on such a proposition, it is indispensable that the relations of the two peoples with each other, from their first contact in South Africa to the present time, be reviewed and considered.

Between races or nations, war is a dreadful and barbarous alternative to decide claims or controversies that should be determined by an appeal to the

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dogmas of Christianity, which alone establish the basis of a perfect civilization.

In the present struggle between the Dutch Afrikanders and the British, all who are conversant with the mightiness of England, must experience amazement at seeing a small population of farmers throw down the gage of battle to a nation whose steel clad leviathans sail on every sea, and whose imperial flag floats in every zone. It must be no light cause that compels the pastoral Boers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State to abandon their flocks and herds, and risk their lives in a physical issue between themselves and the most powerful empire on the globe. Comparing the seeming insignificance of the one, with the apparent omnipotence of the other, it would be scarcely reasonable, without thorough investigation, to prophesy that the outcome of the South African war, could be other than victory for the British arms, and the extinction of Boer independence in both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. If a forecast of the result would be made, it should be remembered that the arena within which the

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awful combat is being fought, affords to the Boers advantages of infinite value, which are calculated to largely counterbalance the superior numbers and stupendous resources of their British opponents.

The country through which the armies of Queen Victoria will have to march, before Bloemonfontein or Pretoria shall have been reached, is peculiarly suited for that system of warfare which the Boers are certain to adopt, and in which they are unrivalled. Nature has supplied to the militant farmers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, mountains and kopjes (hillocks) that constitute as many impregnable fortifications when defended with skill and heroism, such as signally characterize the Boers of the African republics. There is at present an awful vision arising before the mental eyesight of all who can grasp and comprehend the conditions under which the Anglo-Boer war is being waged.

To reach a just conclusion as to which one of the belligerents is accountable to Christianity and civilization, for exciting a struggle that will shock humanity, it is indispensable that the relations

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which subsisted between them should be truthfully defined. It is important too, that the early history of the Dutch who established themselves in South Africa, would be considered and understood, in order to comprehend the moral feature of their claim to unqualified independence.

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CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST AFRICAN BOERS.

The first settlement of the Dutch in South Africa was made in 1648.

In that year a vessel named the Haarlem, belonging to the Dutch East India Company, was wrecked in Table Bay, during a storm. The crew escaped and succeeded in saving the cargo which was of great value. They selected as a suitable location, the site on which Cape Town now stands. They found the soil fertile and adapted to the production of cereals, vegetables and fruits, such as were indigenous to their native country. They raised rude, earthen fortifications to protect them against attacks from the savage Hottentots. This little colony of Dutch sailors remained but six months in their South African settlement, as they were taken home by a Dutch fleet that was returning from India, under Wollebrant Geleynsen.

Jaansen and Troot were the chiefs of the tem-

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porary colony at the Cape. On their return to the Hague they represented to the Dutch East India Company the exceptional advantages possessed by the Cape of Good Hope, as a port of call for their vessels running between Europe and India. They recommended that a permanent settlement be established there, because of the richness of the soil and the salubriousness of the climate.

On August 30, 1650, the company concluded to follow the advice of Jaansen and Troot. The government of the Hague had a plan prepared to carry out the design of the company. The execution of it was placed in the hands of the Amsterdam Chamber. An expedition of three vessels was ordered to sea, the command of which was given to Joan Van Riebeck who had been a surgeon in the Company's service, and had traveled through eastern Asia and Oceanica. The Hague government gave orders for the construction of a substantial fort, on the angles of which cannon were to be mounted; it was to accommodate eighty men. The colonists were required to raise crops and supply provisions to the fleets of the Dutch East India Company,

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and to extend hospitality to all strangers, except the Portuguese, who were regarded as enemies. The number of men brought out on the three vessels was 181, exclusive of the officers of the ships. The expedition arrived at the Cape on April 7, 1652.

For twenty years subsequent to the establishment of the Cape settlement the Dutch had acquired no right of occupation stronger than toleration by the native chiefs. The entire peninsula of the Cape was owned by three tribes of Hottentots, viz., the Goringhaquas, Gorachouquas and Goringhaikinas. The Supreme Chief of those tribes was Gogosa, who on account of his senility and excessive corpulency, was no more than the nominal head of his savage subjects, the chief in real command being his son Osing-Kima. The only pursuits of those wild children of nature were hunting and fishing. When the Dutch landed at the Cape the natives were wholly ignorant of agriculture and the capabilities of the rich soil upon which they dwelt. The emigrants were enjoined when leaving Holland, to cultivate friendship with the natives, and

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to entice them, if possible, within the domain of civilization. For several years the efforts of the Dutch to make friends with the Hottentots were almost fruitless. Persevering kindness at length succeeded in securing for the colonists the confidence of the aborigines, many of whom entered into their service. The original hostile attitude of the Hottentots toward the strangers was gradually modified for the better, so that relations of amity were finally established between them. It was a necessity with the Dutch, to ingratiate themselves into the friendship of the natives, but particularly into that of Osing-Kima their supreme chief. He possessed large flocks and herds, which caused an interchange in trade to spring up between him and his white neighbors.

The Cape, within twenty years after the arrival of the colonists, had become a prominent center of trade between Europe and the East Indies. A rivalry had already arisen between the Dutch and English, for Commercial Supremacy in Hindostan. But the former had been the first in establishing themselves as traders in the great maritime cities

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of that rich peninsula, within whose boundaries was accumulated the gold of Asia from the days of Solomon. On the sea, the Dutch were then supreme, thus exciting the jealousy and enmity of the English. The navy of Holland was every year becoming more formidable, because of the flourishing condition of the Dutch East India Company, whose annual profits for nigh a century, averaged over fifty per cent on the invested capital. Every merchantman that sailed from the Hague, was a war ship, ready to be employed in the service of the state, when its safety or its interests would be threatened by any foreign power.

The value of the South African Cape, as a port of call, became greatly enhanced as European trade with the East expanded and increased. It was an invaluable resting place on the wearying highway of water, between Europe and the orient. The ambitious and enterprising English envied the Dutch because of their possession of it. Without it they could not cope with the Netherlanders for a monopoly of the ever increasing and valuable trade of Hindostan. To dislodge the Dutch from

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the Cape, was a problem which the British were powerless to solve alone. They therefore coquetted with King Louis XIV, of France, and the Elector of Cologne, until they succeeded in effecting an alliance with them for the subversion of Batavian independence.

In May, 1672, the French invaded the United Dutch provinces, and in less than a month, captured ninety-two cities, several of them strongholds of importance. King Charles II sent a powerful fleet to chastise the Dutch on the ocean. Ten English vessels of the line encountered a section of the Batavian fleet off Masulipatam under command of Admiral Van Quaelberg, who sent to the bottom one of the English ships and captured two others. The balance of the British fleet, in a crippled condition, hastily sought shelter. The Dutch, seeing their country overrun by the French, were compelled to recall William Prince of Orange, whom they had repudiated as stadholder. He at once raised a powerful army which he equipped splendidly and led with the heroism and skill that was characteristic of him. He simultaneously

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opened the sluices and cut the dykes that barred the sea from overflowing South Holland. The French were compelled to flee before the overwhelming waters and the overpowering forces of the Prince of Orange. Within a few months, the Dutch recovered all they had lost, and Louis XIV was obliged to withdraw from the alliance, because of a European coalition which was formed against him. King Charles continued the war in opposition to the will of the English people; but in February, 1674, he was obliged to conclude a peace with the Netherlands.

It was in that same year, after the close of the war, that a regular government was established at the Cape, which then had a population of about six hundred, more than a half of which were soldiers.

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CHAPTER III.

THE CAPE SOLD TO THE BOERS.

The possession of the South African peninsula by the Dutch was acquired by purchase from the native chiefs, who held sway over the various territories. A deed is still extant at the Cape, which conveyed to Commissioner Van Overbeke for the Dutch East India Company, the entire district of the Cape, including the Bays of Table, Hout, and Saldanha, with all the rivers within the territory. Osing-Kima only reserved for himself and his people the right to approach, without resistance, the border of the transferred territory. He entered into a treaty of perpetual amity with the Colonists, and undertook to defend the ceded domain from the attacks of any chief or tribe. The condition under which Osing-Kima made the grant, was that he would receive from the Dutch East India Company such merchandise as he would select, to the value of eight hundred pounds sterling, with a

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guarantee that he would retain the peaceful possession of the remainder of his territory. Permission was granted to him and his people to pass through the Company's territory, provided no injury would result from such a concession.

The deed which ceded the Cape territory to the Dutch is dated April 19, 1672, and has appended to it several signatures. Prince Osing-Kima made his attestation with a mark, as also did T. Tchou, who was first in authority under the chief. There was a similar transfer made to the Company, of another Hottentot district, also contiguous to the Cape, by the two leading tribe-men acting for the minor Prince Dhouw. By a deed the Company acquired everything within the territory, the lands, rivers, etc. Within the latter cession was False Bay, which also became a possession of the Company. The price paid for the ceded domain was similar in amount to that paid to Osing-Kima.

Those conveyances of the native chiefs, who were the principal owners of the peninsula, demonstrate that the colony over which the British flag now floats, was legitimately acquired by the Dutch, who

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were the first Europeans who occupied it, and the first to engage in farming upon the African continent. From the beginning, they were adventurous, industrious and thrifty. As their numbers increased, they spread out upon their acquired territory, wresting it simultaneously from the sway of savage nomands and from the dread control of ferocious beasts, with which it was infested. At the time the colony was ceded to the Dutch, the English had established at St. Helena, a naval station, where their ships used to call, to take in provisions and water. Its proximity to the Cape, caused the Dutch to apprehend that it was the intention of the English to make it a rendezvous for a powerful fleet, that could be employed for the capture of their South African colony. England and the Netherlands being then at war, an expedition of four vessels, with 150 sailors and 180 soldiers, sailed from Table Bay, on December 13, 1672, with the purpose of destroying the British settlement at St. Helena. On the approach of the Dutch fleet, the English spiked the guns on the island, and made a precipitate flight to one of their ships, that

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lay at anchor in the bay. Several of them were captured before reaching the vessel, which, with another bound for Barbadoes with several hundred slaves, became a prize for the Dutch. The island was subsequently re-occupied by the British, because of an insufficient force left to defend it.

A census taken in the South African colony, in 1791, showed it to have a Boer or farming population of over a thousand.* Their efforts were highly successful both agriculturally and pastorally. They possessed over four thousand head of cattle, and nigh fifty thousand sheep. The Dutch East India Company at the time was on the verge of bankruptcy. It was unable to meet its financial obligations, which amounted to over ten million pounds sterling. The Cape Colony was a heavy burden to the Dutch East India Company. The annual cost

* After King Louis XIV's reckless abrogation of the protective clauses of the Edict of Nantes, Huguenot protestants began to leave their country in large numbers, seeking in foreign countries the freedom of belief refused them by their liege lord. South Africa—by way of Holland—received its share of this high-grade emigration. Many names remain among the Boers of the present century to bear witness to that strain of French blood, of which it is said they are quite proud; among the best known descendants of these valiant Huguenots are: Joubert, Dutoit, Théron, Duplessis, Trichard, etc.

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of governing it was seventy thousand pounds, while the revenue derived from it did not reach one-half that amount. Few ships were calling at the Cape, because of the diminution that had occurred in the Company's trade, which was gradually passing into the hands of its rival, the British East India Company.

The decrease of Dutch commerce between Europe and the Orient injuriously affected the interests of the Cape colonists, as their surplus products remained on their hands. Monetary stringency and general discontent naturally ensued. The Commissioners who represented the Company, and who were invested with supreme authority in the Colony, undertook to establish a bank of loan, by the issue of legal tender currency to the amount of one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds sterling, which was to bear five per cent. interest. The Boers placed no value on this paper money, and became dissatisfied with the government under whose authority it was issued. The financial situation of the Colony was further aggravated by a declaration

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of war against England and the Netherlands by the French National Convention.

In 1794, the Dutch East India Company declared its inability to pay the interest on its debt. It was, as a consequence of its financial embarrassment, unable to duly maintain its authority as a government, by protecting the Boers from the raids that were constantly being made upon them by Bushmen and Kaffirs. Governor Van de Graff had left for Europe, after transferring his authority to two Commissioners without the warrant of the Company. They, being unwilling or unable to face the financial and political perplexities which had arisen, and which were likely to become more complicated, determined to leave the Colony. They assumed to vest in a deputy named Josias Shrysken supreme power as governor of the settlement.

Shrysken had been an agent of the Dutch East India Company, and was returning from Surat to the Hague at the time he was unwarrantably appointed to the governorship of the Colony. Those who delegated to him a power which was irregularly conferred upon themselves, arbitrarily defined the

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salary he was to receive, until the Company would decide as to the future of the Colony.

The arbitrary appointment of Shrysken as governor, without the consent or knowledge of the Dutch East India Company or the Batavian government, naturally offended the burghers, whose interests and desires were wholly disregarded in relation to it. Universal dissatisfaction with the rule of the Company immediately ensued. A large section of the farmers determined upon founding an independent government, similar to that adopted by the French, after the fall of Louis XVI. As the high commissioner had left without having given them a voice in the future management of the Colony, they withdrew their allegiance from the East India Company as a government, although they were willing to remain loyal to the flag and government of the Netherlands. Direct revolt against the authority of Shrysken was threatened and he was powerless to prevent this uprising.

The prime leader of the disaffection was Franz Kruger, father of the present president of the South African Republic. To intimidate the disloyal col-

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onists, and to perpetuate the authority of the Dutch East India Company, Shrysken constructed two fortifications in Simon's Town, which he named Boetselaar and Zoutman. There were placed on each several pieces of cannon. He built three other forts at Gordon, Hout Bay, and Little Gibraltar, to which he added furnaces to redden shot. He established in Cape Town a small garrison of militia, which occupied the castle from March 1795, to the following month of May.

In the district of Graaf-Reinet, great discontent had arisen among the farmers, because of their dissatisfaction with the paper currency issued by the Company's government, and the plunderous incursions of Bushmen and Kaffirs, against whose raids they were left without protection. Trade within the colony had become completely stagnant, so that the products of the Boers could not be exchanged for money. The financial distress which universally prevailed, aggravated and intensified the discontent that had arisen from a refusal to allow the burghers to participate in the government of the colony. Complaints were made to the landdrosts,

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in expectation that they would reach the authorities at the Cape. Those complaints were not only rejected, but the grounds for them wholly denied by the local representatives of the Company. The farmers of Graaf-Reinet, despairing of redress for their grievances through the agents of the government in their district, proceeded in a body to Cape Town, to complain to the governor in person. The latter haughtily refused to grant them an audience. Angered and insulted by the action of Shrysken, they resolved to cast off forever the yoke of the Dutch East India Company and to form an independent government, should the States General of the Netherlands fail to manifest a paternal interest in them.

On February 4, 1795, the burghers of Graaf-Reinet, under the leadership of Adrian Van Jaarsveld and Jan Carl Friegard, called upon the district landdrost, and demanded an interview. An angry debate followed, the result of which was the expulsion of the landdrost from the district of Graaf-Reinet. They further compelled the withdrawal of the Company's lieutenant of militia, and of all the

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GEN. SIR REDVERS BULLER,
IN COMMAND OF TUGELA RIVER ARMY.

FIELD MARSHAL LORD ROBERTS,
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

MAJ. GEN. LORD METHUEN,
IN COMMAND
OF MODDER RIVER ARMY.

SIRDAR LORD KITCHENER,
CHIEF OF STAFF.

THE BRITISH COMMANDERS IN SO. AFRICAN WAR.

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officials who sustained the action of the expelled landdrost. Shrysken appointed other representatives of the government for the disaffected district, who were instructed to conciliate the excited burghers. The latter, believing that no benefit would accrue to them from a change in officials, demanded that the governor should come to Graaf-Reinet and satisfy himself of the justice of their complaints, particularly as to the incursions of the Kaffirs and Bushmen. Shrysken refused to comply with the call made upon him, thus compelling the farmers to organize for self-defense against the plundering savages on the borders of the colony, declaring themselves, at the same time, independent from a government that was unwilling or unable to afford them due protection.

On June 14, 1795, a body of armed Boers marched to the homes of the Company's officials, and compelled them to quit the district. On the 6th of the following July they formed an independent government for Graaf-Reinet, selecting six of their number as its members. The president of the council was Adrian Van Jaarsveld, also appointed

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military commandant of the district. When the action taken by the Graaf-Reinet farmers became known, the burghers of the Suellendam district at once formed an independent government, resolved to no longer recognize the authority of the Dutch East India Company. The Boer sentiment throughout the colony, approved the action which had been taken in Graaf-Reinet and Suellendam. Cohesion and co-operation by the farmers in the various districts was determined on as the most powerful and effective means to assert their independence of the Company, and to resist the savages, who were making plunderous raids upon them. On June 18, 1795, a representative and governing body called "The National Assembly," acting on behalf of the entire Boer population, formally cast off allegiance to the Dutch East India Company. The Cape authorities were powerless to assert the supremacy of their government, because of the small military force under their command, which aggregated but 1,268, one-sixth of which were natives.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE BRITISH INVADE THE CAPE.

At the time the Boers resolved upon self-government, France was at war with England and the Netherlands. In Holland there was an antagonism of sentiments in relation to the war. The democratic section of the population was opposed to an alliance with England, and were wholly in favor of the French, because of the republican character of their government. The armies of France were enthusiastically greeted by the democrats of Holland during their occupation of the country. England, apprehending that the French would send an expedition to South Africa, opened negotiations with the Prince of Orange, who was then Stadholder, to permit the British to occupy the Cape of Good Hope with a force sufficient for its defense. The Prince of Orange, although personally willing to accede to the desire of the English government, was afraid to incur the enmity of the Dutch demo-

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crats. He therefore declined to consent to the British proposal of occupation.

The Cape authorities were utterly ignorant of what was occurring in Europe, until they received a letter announcing that the Anglo-Dutch alliance was likely to be soon dissolved, and that the majority of the Netherlands were friendly to the French. The letter was inspired by the directors of the East India Company, but it was urged that it be kept from the knowledge of the Hague government. The French had already occupied several districts of Holland and were besieging Breda. The democrats universally denounced the alliance with England, and insisted upon its immediate dissolution. The Prince of Orange, who was held responsible for it, fearing assassination, fled to London. He was no longer the chief of the Dutch government in the capacity of Stadholder. He had, however, determined to traitorously exercise a power he had been deprived of, in order to aid the British in effecting their design upon the African Colony.

On June 11, 1795, Admiral Sir George Elphinstone, with nine British warships, sailed into False

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Bay. On board the vessels were a large number of troops, under command of General Sir James Craig. The admiral immediately sent an invitation to Governor Shrysken and Colonel Gordon, who was in command of the colonial troops, to visit him. The admiral's invitation was declined by both of the Cape officials, as they considered the arrival of such a formidable fleet as an unwarrantable intrusion. Governor Shrysken regarded its coming with nervous suspicion, and felt that it was imperative upon him, in the absence of special instructions from his Company, to hold no intercourse with the representatives of a foreign power. The Cape council, however, advised that a message be sent to the admiral, requesting that he would send, through one of his officers, such communication as he might choose to make. Orders were simultaneously issued that no British troops should be allowed to land.

On June 14, three officers from the fleet, called on Governor Shrysken, and presented to him an order, written and signed by the Prince of Orange, to permit the troops of His Majesty the King of England to land and occupy the forts and such

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other parts of the colony as needed protection from invasion. This mandate of the deposed Stadholder was dated February 7, 1795, and written from Kew. The admiral's letter, which accompanied this most irregular order from a discarded Stadholder, gave no information as to the actual situation of affairs in the Netherlands. To plausibly explain to the governor how this important document happened to be dated from Kew, Elphinstone stated that the Prince of Orange had been compelled to fly from Holland, because of the French invasion of the country, and the danger of his being captured. Both the governor and his council were friendly to the Prince of Orange, but as the order was written in a foreign country, they refused to comply with it, before receiving instruction from the Company. Being in a comparatively defenseless position to oppose an attack if made upon them by such a force as General Craig commanded, the Cape authorities consented to allow small unarmed parties of the British to come ashore. They also agreed to supply the fleet with provisions, pending directions from the directors of the East

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India Company. The British commanders haughtily rejected the offers made by Governor Shrysken and his council. They stated that they had come with peremptory instructions to occupy the country during the will of the King of England, and that they would not stand delay in executing the orders under which they sailed.

Elphinstone and Craig forthwith issued a proclamation, ordering the colonists to place themselves under British protection, so that they would be secure from a French invasion of their colony. The imperious action of the English commanders was universally regarded as an audacious attempt to establish British rule within the territory. Governor Shrysken immediately ordered that no more provisions be supplied to the fleet. He further commanded that an attempt to land troops from the warships should be resisted to the last extremity. The heroic stand taken by the Governor, elevated him to the most exalted place in Boer estimation. Praises and congratulations poured in upon him from every district of the colony. The first to tender their aid to repel the invaders were the re-

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bellious Boers of Graaf-Reinet. Although they had repudiated allegiance to the government of the East India Company, they would still uphold it with their lives, rather than see it crushed by a foreign power and themselves humiliated by a British flag floating over their adopted country. No less patriotic and brave were the farmers of Suellendam. They at once formed military organizations, to defend the Cape from English invasion. While they had revolted against the government of the Company, it was still Dutch, and as such should receive their gallant assistance in the hour of attack by a foreign foe.

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CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST BRITISH AND BOER BLOOD.

The majority of the Cape officials, because of their friendship for the Prince of Orange, were lukewarm in their opposition to the British. Colonel Gordon who commanded the troops of the colony, was pro-English, being of Scotch descent, and the governor inclined to the belief that the British were but protecting the Cape from French invasion, in the interest of the Stadholder, whose deposition as such, was still unknown to Shrysken. The most despotic censorship was enforced by Elphinstone, so that the representatives of the Dutch East India Company should remain unacquainted with all that was occurring in Europe. All incoming letters were opened and read, and such of them as contained information respecting affairs of state, were suppressed. Positive orders from the British admiral forbade that newspapers should be allowed ashore; but notwithstanding the extreme

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vigilance of Elphinstone and his subordinates, a journal did reach the hands of the Cape authorities, and it contained a proclamation releasing the Dutch people at home and in the colonies from further allegiance to the Prince of Orange. That historic proclamation was dated March 4, 1795. The authorities also learned that the government of the States General had given place to a republic toward which the French showed themselves most friendly.

The burghers, now convinced that the British had determined to permanently occupy the Cape territory, rallied to the number of nigh twelve hundred horsemen, to repel the English should they attempt to land in force from their fleet. Three Dutch vessels returning to Europe from the orient, with valuable cargoes, were seized by Elphinstone. He advanced as a justification for his piratical action, that he was but protecting them from capture by the French. He was assured at once that they were in no danger of their being interfered with, as the most amicable relations subsisted between the French government and that of

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the Netherlands. Elphinstone's seizure of the Dutch vessels, occurred on July 9, 1795. Five days later, a force of over five hundred infantry and three hundred marines were landed from the fleet. Shrysken offered no resistance to the landing of the British, giving as an excuse for not opposing it, that he desired to place upon the English Commanders the onus of initiating war.

On August 7, the movements of the British warships convinced Shrysken that a landing of the entire force was about to be effected. The Dutch had concentrated their full strength at Marizburg under command of Colonel de Lille, who was expected to resist an attempt to land a further contingent of British troops. Elphinstone perceiving that preparations were made to oppose a landing, turned a broadside to the forts, and commenced firing upon them. De Lille forthwith ordered a retreat of the Dutch force, thus enabling the British to land without resistance. This so enraged the Boer volunteers, that they denounced de Lille as a traitor. They, however, gallantly determined to give battle to the invaders, the moment

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they would be out of the range of fire from the fleet. They took up a position a few miles from Marizburg, but after a brave stand under a cowardly or traitorous commander, they were obliged to abandon it. They retreated but a short distance, when they again formed to give battle to the British. They had been followed and attacked by several companies of the 78th regiment. This time the Dutch fought with such valor and determination that they forced the English to abandon the ground and to hastily retreat to Marizburg. Had de Lille held the fort at Marizburg but a few hours longer the British invasion would have been possibly prevented, as the Dutch from every part of the colony were hurrying to Cape Town, to aid Governor Shrysken to oppose the invaders. General Craig having occupied Marizburg with a force of 1,600 infantry and a powerful artillery, it was deemed impossible to dislodge him, with such a small body of fighting men as the colonists could concentrate at the Cape. The burghers were also discouraged to continue the fight because of their unreliability on those under whom they would be

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compelled to serve. The burghers, outraged by the action of de Lille, preferred a charge of treason against him, which caused him to be arrested and sent to prison in Cape Castle. There seems to be valid grounds for the belief that he was unfaithful to the East India Company, as he subsequently was appointed, by the British, barrackmaster at the Cape.

Elphinstone and Craig addressed several communications to Governor Shrysken to induce him to surrender Cape Town, and to consent to British control of the colony. The governor replied that his oath of office compelled him to defend the territory of his company, until constrained to yield it by an irresistible force. The governor was encouraged to oppose the British demands by the determination of the Boers to resist to the last extremity, the occupation of the colony by the English. It had been arranged that the invaders were to be attacked in their garrison at Marizburg, by a strong force of burghers and the colonial troops. But before the day fixed for carrying out this bold design arrived, a large British reinforce-

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ment reached Simons Bay. The overwhelming force under General Craig's command, caused numbers of the burghers to return to their homes, seeing no possible chance of their driving out the English. The Kaffirs and Bushmen, in the absence of the farmers who had gone to the Cape, were raiding and plundering on the borders of the colony. This compelled additional numbers of the Boers to withdraw from the war against the British, to defend their homes and properties from the ravages of the border natives. Another disheartening feature of the campaign against the English, was the constantly occurring desertions to the enemy of the colonial soldiers, who were a motley aggregation of mercenaries from all parts of Europe. The temptation of better pay, caused them to become traitors to the government of the Dutch East India Company and to join the ranks of the British soldiery. Notwithstanding all those dispiriting conditions the Dutch who now could not muster more than 900 men, determined to continue the fight until utterly overwhelmed.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE BOERS FLY FROM BRITISH RULE.

On September 14, 1795, a British force of 5,000 men, under the personal command of General Craig, set out from Marizburg, to capture Cape Town. The burgers harassed them front and flank, during the entire distance. They killed and disabled a large number of the enemy, and fought with such skill, courage and determination, that they won the admiration of the British officers. General Clarke, who commanded a brigade composed of the 95th, 98th and 84th regiments, was so elated by the genius and bravery of a young Dutch officer named Du Plessis, who commanded a Boer company, that he invited him to dinner after the termination of hostilities, and complimented him highly on his achievements. The gallantry of the Dutch had been overcome by the overwhelming numbers of the British. But no soldiery of any age or country ever surpassed that little band of

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burghers in bravery and tenacity. They heroically contested every foot of the ground between Marizburg and Cape Town, and would have recorded a brilliant and historic victory, had their numbers amounted to even half of the British strength.

The representatives of the Dutch East India Company, being in sympathy with the discarded Prince of Orange, were willing to make a truce with the British, and to resign the colony to their control. The majority of them were officials who had been sent out from Europe, and in consequence, had little if any patriotic interest in the territory, particularly as the company which they represented was on the verge of dissolution. On the other hand, the Boers, who were the descendants of the first colonists, unlike the officials and soldiers of the East India Company, were patriotic, heroic and indomitable. Overwhelming numbers alone would cause them to abandon the struggle for Dutch independence. They were willing to yield obedience to the government of the Netherlands, but to no other would they become reconciled, while there was a prospect of winning inde-

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pendence for themselves. No people ever fought more bravely against a foreign invader than did the Boers of South Africa against the British in 1795.

Governor Shrysken, like his associates in the service of the East India Company, was little more than half-hearted in his opposition to the British invasion of the Cape. The burghers of Graaf-Reinet and Swellendam, were eager to fight to the last extremity, to prevent a foreign occupation of the territory which their fathers had bequeathed to them, but the governor ordered a cessation of hostilities, on the ground that further resistance would involve unavailing bloodshed. On September 15, an officer with a flag of truce was sent to the British lines to arrange for an armistice. The terms of it were subsequently agreed upon by the British commanders and the officials of the Dutch East India Company. The Boers believing that they had been betrayed, returned to their homes determined to never yield obedience to a flag that symbolized their defeat and subjugation. The British held possession of the Cape until 1802,

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when by the Peace of Amiens, it was restored to the Dutch as its original and rightful owners.

It was not long, however, before England, regarding the Cape as indispensable for the extension of her commerce, and the maintenance of her foothold in Hindostan, gave orders to Sir David Beard, in 1806, to wrest it from the Dutch. It was subsequently restored to them when the European powers united for the overthrow of the first Napoleon. In 1814, the nobles and burghers of the Netherlands declared for monarchical sovereignty, and recalled the exiled Prince of Orange, who was crowned King of Holland under the title of William I. In the following year William ceded to the British the entire possessions of the Dutch in the African peninsula. He was aware at the time of the intense aversion of the colonists to English supremacy over them, and of their confirmed determination never to become reconciled to it. The Boers regarded the transfer of the territory their fathers had purchased from the savage aborigines as an act of injustice and treachery. During the hundred and sixteen years their predecessors and

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themselves had occupied the colony they received no aid from the Netherland government, to render it habitable to civilized man or to develop its resources. In 1795, the Prince of Orange had attempted to betray them into the hands of the English by an assumption of the power which had been taken from him. His order, written from Kew, to Governor Shrysken, to permit the British to occupy the Dutch settlement, was viewed by the colonists, as an act of treason, not only to themselves, but to the government and flag of the Netherlands. During the years they were obliged to submit to British supremacy, they were disposed to be faithful to such government as the European Dutch would adopt. But as they were cast off by King William, and arbitrarily transferred by him to a sovereignty they abhorred, their determination to become independent and self-governing, grew, if possible, more intense.

For twenty years after the cession of Cape Colony to the British, discontent and resistance to English laws and power, characterized the South African Boers, fully ninety per cent of whom were

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Dutch. * Secret organization and overt agitation became their constant modes of protest when they relinquished all hopes of seeing the British flag supplanted by that to which they were devoted. As early as 1817, the Dutch Colonists began to seek new homes beyond the boundaries of the territory which had been despotically alienated from them. They would not submit to ignominious submission to foreign supremacy, so long as the vast African continent would afford them homes wherein they could dwell in independence.†

* After Cape Colony had been officially transferred from the new Kingdom of the Netherlands to the Crown of England upon payment by the latter, in accordance with the treaty of 1815, of a purchase price of $10,000,000, the British undertook to gradually drown the Boer element in a flood of English-Scotch emigration. From 1820 to 1826, 1034 English families, 412 Scotch and 174 Irish, were transferred to South Africa, on special transports and at the expense of the state. Many of their descendants count now among the most strenuous defenders of South African independence.

† Among the earlier acts of injustice to lay against the British regime, none more glaring can be found than that relating to the emancipation of the slaves owned by the Boers. In 1833 Parliament declared all slaves within British territory to be free, men, women and children. An indemnity of one-third of original cost of the slaves was to be paid to the owner from the royal exchequer. Under this arrangement a sum of over one million pounds sterling was due the Boers, to partly indemnify them for the loss of their slaves' service. The emancipation took place and for a time the farms of the Boers remained untilled for want of willing arms. No money however was forthcoming and not a shilling has to this day been paid the former slave owners. In that respect the Dutch colonists were specially singled out as victims of English bad faith and hypocritical philanthropy.

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The great "Trek" or hegira of the Dutch from Cape Colony did not take place, however, until 1835. In that year several hundreds of them passed into Orange territory and Griqualand. Another large section had selected Natal as a final settlement. Their leader was Pieter Reinet, to whom the Zulu king who held sway over this desolate but most picturesque territory, guaranteed protection for his people. But this savage king, Dingaan, had such an insatiable appetite for human blood that the Dutch had but settled in Natal when he and his dreaded warriors swooped down upon them and blotted them all out in one horrible feast of blood. Natal was once more a desolation, for the few English who had settled near Durban had abandoned the territory through dread of the sanguinary Dingaan and his horde of savage followers.

The most striking traits in the character of the Boers are their fraternal cohesion, invincible devotion to independence, and unconquerable determination to achieve political freedom. Being the first white people who settled in the "Dark Continent", they naturally regarded Africa as their per-

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manent home. * Their fathers faced dangers and underwent hardships that would intimidate and discourage a people less courageous and perseverant. In spite of their first and cruel disasters they determined to secure for their descendants peaceful homes, far removed from European civilization and religious tyranny, which was regarded by them as unchristain and intolerable. These descendants of the first colonists, voluntarily abandoned the land of their birth because of their irreconciliable hate of foreign rule. They resolved to defy all dangers, and to surmount all difficulties in order to finally establish themselves in some part of the African peninsula free from the rule and sway of any European power. After nigh a century and a half of warfare against savage neighbors and British invaders, as the English were regarded, every man

* It is generally forgotten, nowadays, that the South African republic held a very strong claim to territory extending from its present frontier to the sea-coast. Portugal, however, refused to allow the Boers to take possession of this strip of land, and, in 1878, President Pretorius accepted, as an arbiter of the question at issue, Marshall MacMahon, President of the French Republic. The verdict was rendered in favor of Portugal, to the undisguised joy of the British government.

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and woman of their race had grown instinctively brave and militant. Their religious fanaticism, coupled with the conviction that they were destined to be instruments in the hands of Providence for the extension of Christianity, caused them to defy danger with a courage and resolution such as characterized the early Christians and the crusaders of the middle ages.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE BOERS AGAIN DESPOILED BY THE BRITISH.

The treacherous massacre of Reinet and his followers at Umkingloof by Dingaan, made the Dutch throughout South Africa determine to avenge the atrocity of the sanguinary Zulu chief, and to rescue Natal from his savage sway. They organized a force of several hundred colonists from various parts of the peninsula, to attack and overthrow him. They trusted to their superior equipments and invincible valor to overpower the myriad of savages that the bloodthirsty Dingaan had behind him. The Boers were gallantly led by Uys, Maritz, and Potgieter, but though they fought with indomitable courage, and killed large numbers of the ferocious warriors, they were ultimately overwhelmed with terrible slaughter. The scene of that sanguinary engagement was named "Werning," which signifies woe or weeping. That sorrowful name was given to it, because of the eight hundred heroic Boers

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slaughtered there by the spears and assegais of the savage Zulus.

That bloody disaster but stimulated the unconquerable "Trekkers" to make a supreme effort to vanquish Dingaan, and drive him beyond the borders of Natal. After a brief pause, they again rallied under Andreas Pretorius, and attacked the great black chief. The battle that ensued was fought with desperate valor and tenacity. Thanks to the able generalship of Pretorius and the supreme heroism of the Boers, the Zulus were utterly routed and Dingaan himself driven beyond the Limpopo river. Then were the Boers made masters of Natal. They had purchased with their heroism and blood the ownership of the soil.

Having liberated themselves from British control, and apprehending no disturbance from the savage Zulus on their borders, the "Trekkers" immediately commenced the formation of a government, in 1840. A Boer republic was founded, and its capital fixed at Pietermaritzburg. Its establishment caused numbers of the Cape Colony Dutch to commence another "Trek" to unite with their

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brethren in Natal, and to give their allegiance to a flag and government peculiarly their own. The migration from Cape Colony was assuming such magnitude, that the extreme southern part of Africa was likely soon to be occupied only by Kaffirs, Hottentots and English soldiers and servants. Save as a port of call for British ships, passing to and from the east, the Cape and the Colony were to become only a burden on the English exchequer. The first great movement of the Boers, in 1835, caused intense anxiety to Sir Benjamin Durban, the governor of Cape Colony. He was desirous of employing force to compel these "Trekkers" to remain under the British flag. He persuaded himself that they were subjects of the English crown, and as such, could be prevented from abandoning the colony. However, before employing extreme measures to confine them to British territory, he wrote to Mr. Oliphant, the Attorney-General of the colony, asking his opinion as to any legal justification for the restraining course he was inclined to pursue, in relation to Boer emigration. Mr. Oliphant sent the following reply to the governor's query:

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"The class of persons under consideration evidently mean to seek their fortunes in another land, and to consider themselves no longer British subjects, so far as the colony of the Cape of Good Hope is concerned. Would it be prudent or just, even if it was possible, to prevent persons, discontented with their positions, to try to better themselves in whatever part of the world they pleased? The same sort of removal takes place every day from Great Britain to the United States. Is there any actual way of arresting persons determined to run away from an enforced allegiance, short of shooting them as they passed the boundary line? I apprehend not. And if so, the remedy would be worse than the disease. Government must, therefore, ever remain without the power of preventing this evil, if evil it be."

While the British authorities possessed no power to prevent the Boers from emigrating, they still claimed them as subjects of the English crown, and maintained that they could not escape from its control. The defeat of Dingaan by the Dutch, was regarded by the Cape officials, as a victory won by British subjects, and the territory acquired by it was held to be an English possession. Immediately after Dingaan had been driven from Natal, and the Boers had undertaken the founding of a government for themselves, the English attempted to establish military occupation over this section of the

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country. Naturally the Boers resented such an audacious attempt to despoil them of the fruits of their heroism and blood. For two years after the defeat of Dingaan the Boers were constantly vexed by British interference. The military occupation of the territory by the English was, however, proving so burdensome to their exchequer, and causing such a strain upon the colonial army, that the home government ordered that it be vacated, and turned over to the emigrants who had wrested it from the Zulu king.

In 1840 Captain Jervis, who commanded the British forces in South Africa, withdrew the troops that occupied Natal. In surrendering the territory to the Boers, he addressed to them a proclamation, which had the impress of sincerity and friendship. The following is an extract from it:

"It now only remains for me to wish you one and all as a community, every happiness, hoping that peace may be the object of your counsels, * * * that your motives may be worthy of you as men and Christians, and your arrival may be hailed as a benefit, having enlightened ignorance, dispelled superstition and caused crime, bloodshed and oppression to cease, and that you may cultivate those beautiful regions in quiet and prosperity, ever re-

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gardful of the rights of the inhabitants, whose country you have adopted and whose home you have made your own."

The Boers were thus acknowledged to be the rightful possessors of Natal. Great Britain, by public proclamation, no longer regarded them as English subjects, and by its imperial volition, left them free to adopt any form of government that would be most congenial to them. The voluntary withdrawal of the British from Natal, was accepted by the Boers as a guarantee that they would never again attempt to assume sovereignty over it. During two years of non-interference by the English, the young republic progressed in wealth and population. The beauty and fertility of the territory induced an ever-increasing and beneficial immigration. Its eastern boundary being washed by the waters of the Indian ocean, gave it a maritime importance of inestimable value.

The Cape authorities regarded with jealousy the steady progress of the territory under its independent government. It was becoming extensively colonized, and advancing far more rapidly than the

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neighboring colony under British control; so the envious South African officials of the crown determined to intrigue for the subversion of the Boer republic. They represented to the home government, that a republic on the border of Cape Colony, founded by a people instinctively hostile to Great Britain, was a menace to the safety of the South African possessions of the crown.

The London government was so influenced by the representations made to it, that permission was granted the South African officials to add Natal to the existing domain of the English crown. In 1842 Governor Napier, having received the authority he desired, sent a military force into Natal, under the command of Captain Smith. The Boers, finding that Great Britain was determined to overthrow their government and annex their territory, at once took up arms to defend their rights and liberties. They gallantly attacked Smith, and drove him to the coast. Large reinforcements were sent to him, which enabled the British to overwhelm the Boers, who fought with their traditional valor and determination. A large number of the Dutch were killed

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and wounded, and thus was widened still more the gulf that separated the Boer and the Briton. With their government subverted and the country for which they had shed their blood wrested from them, the Dutch resolved to seek a final home beyond the rugged Draakenberg mountains, where they hoped to be safe from the pursuit and grasp of England.

The territory which the Boers chose for a final settlement was in a state of complete desolation. It was void of inhabitants, save the remnants of scattered tribes, that had been plundered and almost entirely extinguished by the monster Mozelkatze, chief of the Matebele. No more ruthless savage ever revelled in human massacres. Like Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, he delighted in wallowing in blood and exulting over pyramids of human skulls. He had plundered and slaughtered from the Limpopo to the Vaal, but by the valor of the early settlers in the Orange Free State was finally vanquished and forced to fly to his native wilds. The few aborigines who escaped the spears of the murderous Mozelkatze, welcomed the fugitive Boers to their country. They surrendered to them such parts

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of the territory as the newcomers would select. The advent of the Boers was joyously hailed by the surviving natives, as they were relied on to save them from plunder and massacre by the savage hordes of Mozelkatze. The historian, Noble, in writing of the territory to which the Dutch felt constrained to fly, after their defeat by the British, and the confiscation of the colony of Natal, said:

"The Boers found no difficulty in taking possession of the territory, for the greater part of it was lying waste—the haunt of wild game and beasts of prey. The dreaded chief, Mozelkatze, had abandoned it, having fled into the region between the Limpopo and Zambesi rivers. The remaining natives were a weak and broken people, who welcomed the emigrants as deliverers from Mozelkatze's cruel sway, and acknowledging them as governors of the country, allowed them to appropriate whatever ground they required."

The Boers having now reached a region of the "Dark Continent," hitherto untouched by European foot, and regarding themselves beyond the grasp or influence of England and its officials, formed an independent government, similar to that they had founded in Natal. It was named by Potgieter the "Maatschappiz," and the laws made by it, in relation to the natives, corresponded to those

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which existed in Cape Colony, up to its occupation by the British. It was legislatively provided, that the aborigines should work when required, for reasonable remuneration; that they should be denied the use of firearms, and prevented from wandering at will through the country.

The capitol of the new republic was established at Potchefstrom, as it was the most central part of the region selected by the Boers. For a few years, there was an absence of interference with the affairs of the young republic, during which time its population was increasing, and its financial condition steadily improving. After the withdrawal from Natal of Potgieter and his followers, and the establishment of British rule within the territory, Kaffir immigration was encouraged by the representatives of the English crown. Every toleration was granted to them for the exercise of those savage customs which were the most dreaded characteristics in their native wilds. As an inducement to them to flock into Natal, polygamy, such as they indulged in outside the boundaries of civilization, was permitted them. No restraint that Christianity had de-

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fined, was imposed upon them. They were free to gratify as the untutored children of nature, all the revolting practices peculiar to barbaric life. They were also promised a protection from plunder and massacre, such as was unknown to them under their savage chiefs. The paternalism manifested toward them by the British officials caused nigh four hundred thousand of them to locate in Natal. There was yet in the territory a considerable population of Boers, who shrunk from the danger to which their families would be exposed by seeking homes in a country that had been but recently desolated by the merciless Mozelkatze. But being a peculiarly religious people, they became disgusted with the savages among whom they were living. They, therefore, determined to leave the territory en masse and join their kinsmen beyond the Draakenberg mountains.

In 1848 an organized band of Boers moved from Natal, to cross into the territory which is at present known as the Transvaal, and where their predecessors had founded an independent government. The British authorities, in defiance of the freedom per-

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mitted and guaranteed to subjects of the English crown, undertook to prevent their emigration from Natal, by military force. As the Boers were passing from the territory, led by Andreas Pretorius, they were intercepted at Boom Plaats by a large body of English troops, under command of Sir Harry Smith. The Dutch emigrants, being determined to carry out their resolution of escaping from British rule, heroically attempted to force their way through the barrier of soldiers, who stood ready to shoot them down. The Boers, though unprepared to meet such a formidable force as confronted them, gallantly faced what could only be regarded as evident defeat. A desperate engagement ensued, in which hundreds on both sides were killed and wounded. The Boers, under the able leadership of Pretorius, fought with unflinching valor, until they were completely overpowered. Many of them were captured and sent as prisoners to Maritzburg, while others succeeded in reaching the territory of the Transvaal. Andreas Pretorius, who probably would have been tried and convicted of high treason, if captured, effected his escape, and reached a

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remote part of the Transvaal. The battle of Boom Plaats is an episode that shall eternally live in Boer memory. It was well calculated to perpetuate and intensify the hate of English rule that burned so deep into the souls of the Dutch in the African peninsula.

The exodus of the Boers from British territory, and the progress they were making in their new settlement, caused extreme vexation to the English governor at the Cape. He therefore determined to claim, in the name of the crown, the entire region occupied by them. Accordingly he issued a proclamation, declaring all of South Africa, up to the twenty-fifth degree of latitude south, British territory, and all the inhabitants within it subject to English law and government. As the governor of Cape Colony had thus defined the utmost boundary of the British domain, and as there was sufficient unoccupied land north of it, the Boers immediately resolved to vacate the district where they had lived for years and had established their seat of government. Moving beyond the line determined by Governor Napier, they founded settlements at

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Ohrigstad, Zoutpansberg, and Lydenburg. The latter district being nearest to the Indian ocean, would afford them facilities for establishing commercial relations with the Portuguese at Lorenzo Marquez. They at length felt secure from further annoyance by the British, as they were far removed from English power and European civilization. Their last home being a region of silence and desolation, was not likely to tempt the cupidity of those who governed South Africa, on behalf of the British crown. So thought the persecuted Dutch. But it will be seen in following up their history, that they were destined to be again pursued by English power, and constrained to submit to its supremacy, when they were powerless to resist it.

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CHAPTER VIII.

BOER INDEPENDENCE ACKNOWLEDGED.

It is characteristic of high officials of the British crown to whom colonial government has been entrusted, that they exercise power far beyond the boundary of their prescribed duty. They often commit acts at variance with the dictates of morality and justice, and persuade themselves that anything done in the interests of the empire, however reprehensible, is not only justifiable but laudable. They are disposed to regard the despotic seizure of territory to which their sovereign has no moral claim, emphatic affirmation of their administrative ability and patriotic devotion. It is significant of most Englishmen appointed to supreme power in the foreign territories of the crown, that they never permit the moral code to control them, when they suppose that the interest of the empire can be subserved. They not unusually undertake to perform for their sovereign and nation, what they would

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recoil from doing for themselves, restrained in matters of a personal nature by the dictates of justice and morality. The honor of the British empire has been not infrequently compromised and its stability endangered by the unscrupulous cupidity of those to whom was committed vice-regal authority in remote colonies of the crown. The annexation of near territory by the power of military force, was and is a matter of habit with the majority of British governors and high commissioners in countries where England has planted her imperial flag. The ambition of those officials was and is to limitlessly expand the domain of the crown, regardless of the blood and treasure which the extension would imply. To carry out designs of territorial spoliation, the human sacrifice, by which it could only be effected, caused to those great administrators no thought of wrong-doing or pang of conscience. The acquisition of new domain, and the advancement of England's flag, were looked upon as sufficient atonement for the immorality by which both had been accomplished. Without the acquiescence or knowledge of the supreme government, acts of

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plunder and inhumanity have been perpetrated, which received imperial but secret condemnation. Yet, as they had been accomplished, they were never undone. Nor did those who were officially responsible for them receive an expression of royal censure. It has been the uniform policy of all the governments of the British empire to endorse the acts of their officials, if they had been undertaken in the interest of the crown. Deeds of conquest were ever regarded by English officials as indispensable to the progress of Christianity and civilization, and, on that account, morally justifiable.

The early emigrants to the Orange Free State had founded an independent government, under which they were enjoying contentment and prosperity. The Dutch population was constantly becoming enlarged by immigration from Cape Colony and Natal. On the western border of the state, the Boers were annoyed by the savage Basutos, who were constantly making predatory raids upon them. Sanguinary conflicts were of frequent occurrence, in which the Dutch were ever victorious, because of their invincible valor and superior

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J. M. A. WOLMERAN. SECRETARY OF STATE REITZ, S. W. BURGER. GEN. KOCK (*died in battle.*).

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE SO. AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

COMMANDANT-IN-CHIEF JOUBERT. PRESIDENT KRÜGER. GEN. PIET CRONJE.

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means of fighting. To punish the Basuto paramount chief, and to intimidate him from continuing his career of plunder, the Boers annexed part of his territory. The chief, not able to forcibly wrest it from his conquerors, appealed to the Cape government, to compel its return to him. The British authorities in South Africa were ever willing to side with the natives against the Dutch. Although the dispute between the Basutos and Boers in no way affected the interests of the British crown, Governor Napier, anxious for an excuse to extinguish the independence of the Orange Free State, availed himself of the appeal made by the Basuto chief, to carry out his design of territorial absorption. He, therefore, without reference to the home government, issued a proclamation, declaring the Orange Free State annexed to the royal domain of England in South Africa.

The Boers, in the most emphatic manner, protested against the outrage perpetrated upon them, without justification or excuse. Their representations to Governor Napier and his councillors, as to the thieving incursions of the savage Basutos, were

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contemptuously disregarded. They were told that the interests of civilization and the necessity for peace on the borders of British territory, compelled and justified the subversion of Boer independence, and the annexation of the Orange country to the dominion of the crown. The interference of Governor Napier between the Basutos and Boers was wholly unwarrantable. The former, by their predatory raids, compelled the Dutch to engage in defensive warfare with them. The seizure and permanent possession of their territory was as morally just as it was coercive. The Basutos, being the aggressors, provoked the chastisement inflicted upon them. The plea of humanity advanced by Governor Napier, to justify the absorption of the Orange Free State, was mere pretenee, as neither he nor other high officials of the British crown, recognized in dealing with native chiefs or savage tribes, the precepts of civilization or the dogmas of Christianity. This will become evident in the forthcoming pages of the present history. To elucidate the general policy of the British in South Africa, it is

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essential that their action in relation to the natives should not be wholly overlooked.

Three years of British control of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal brought to the supreme government the costly conviction that their annexation was a mistake both in a financial and military point of view. To maintain the authority of the crown within the territories, involved a heavy strain upon the imperial exchequer. The mere possession of these vast tracts of land was valueless, as no revenue was derived from them. Incidentally it exposed the government to repeated attacks, because of the contiguity of savage tribes, whose predatory instincts impelled them to make plundering raids over the borders of the two States. In pursuing a policy of aggression and territorial expansion, the Cape authorities disregarded the cost and embarrassment which it would impose upon the imperial government. If it had resulted in financial benefit to the nation, it would have been excused, if not applauded. But as the results proved burdensome rather than beneficial, the authorities in London concluded to terminate the sovereignty of the crown over all

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the territory north of the Orange river. In 1851 Earl Grey, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, implicitly condemned the policy pursued by Governor Napier in relation to the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. By the strict instructions he addressed to the governor of Cape Colony, it was made manifest that the annexation of the Boer territories was as impolitic as it was undesired by Her Majesty's government. The following extract from this weighty document demonstrates how the imperial authorities had decided to release the Boers from all allegiance to the crown, and to restore to them the freedom of self-government of which they had been arbitrarily deprived. Lord Grey wrote:

"The ultimate abandonment of the Orange River sovereignty must be a settled point of our policy. * * * If you are enabled to effect this object, you will distinctly understand that any wars, however sanguinary, which may afterwards occur between the different tribes and communities which will be left in a state of independence beyond the colonial boundary, are to be considered as affording no ground for your interference. Any inroads upon the Colony must be promptly and severely punished. But after the experience which has been gained, as to the effect of British interference, in

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the vain hope of preserving peace amongst the barbarous or semi-civilized inhabitants of these distant regions, I cannot sanction a renewal of similar measures."

The logical deduction to be drawn from Lord Grey's instructions is that the unqualified independence it conceded to the Boers of the Free State and the Transvaal, should be permanently respected by the representatives of the British crown. It is important in following up the histories of the British and the Boers, that the above commands of Lord Grey should be carefully remembered. They emphatically defined the policy which British officials should invariably adhere to in relation to all who lived outside the boundary of Cape Colony. And had the official "command" of Lord Grey been carried out by succeeding governments, the present sanguinary conflict between the Boers and the British could not have occurred. It was the flagrant disregard of the wise instructions and statesmanlike counsels of Lord Grey, that rendered inevitable a war which will entail appalling consequences upon both belligerents, and which may imperil the stabil-

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ity of the mighty fabric of British sovereignty throughout the world.

The result of Lord Grey's ukase was a convention between high commissioners on part of the English crown, and delegates selected by prominent members of the late Boer government, to represent the people of the Orange Free State. The Transvaal Boers, encouraged by the decision of the British ministry in relation to the Orange Free State, determined to have their independence also guaranteed by a treaty between them and the queen's representatives. This they regarded as indispensable to secure their government against the possibility of extinction and their territory from seizure and annexation. Their apprehension was, that unless the queen, through her representatives, guaranteed by an inviolable treaty their absolute independence, their sovereignty over the Transvaal would be subject to the caprice of those who were in authority at the Cape. While the British commissioners and the Boer representatives were arranging in Bloemenfontein the terms by which the Orange Free State was to reassume its independ-

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ence, communications were opened between the Transvaal Boers and the royal commissioners, with the object of having the independence of their republic solemnly assured. The primary condition under which they would negotiate with Her Majesty's commissioners was that the decree of outlawry promulgated against Andreas Pretorius and others, who had taken a prominent part in fighting the British forces at Boom Plaats, should be annulled.

The royal commissioners very graciously received the application of the Transvaal Dutch for consideration of their desire to have their sovereignty as a state guaranteed by solemn treaty. By virtue of the power vested in them by the crown, they removed the decree of outlawry that was proclaimed against Andreas Pretorius and others, and consented to receive a delegation of representative Boers from the Transvaal, to make arrangements for a convention by which the independence of the territory would be guaranteed. The result of the conference between Her Majesty's commissioners and the Boer delegates was a meeting of the two contracting parties near Sand River, on January

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17, 1852. On that date a treaty was agreed to, under which the crown consented to forego all claim to the territory north of the Vaal river, and to permit the inhabitants of the district to establish such form of government as to themselves would seem best. The convention agreed to at Sand River was subsequently endorsed by Sir G. Cathcart, Her Majesty's High Commissioner. The articles agreed upon by the British commissioners and the Boer delegates were as follows:

"1. The Assistant Commissioners guarantee in the fullest manner, on the part of the British government, to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal river, the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British government, and that no encroachments shall be made by the said government on the territory beyond to the north of the Vaal river: With the further assurance that the warmest wish of the British government is to promote peace, free trade, and friendly intercourse with the emigrant farmers inhabiting or whoever may inhabit that country; it being understood that this system of non-interference is binding upon both parties.

"2. Related to boundaries which would be defined by Commissioners appointed by both parties.

"3. Her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners hereby disclaim all alliances whatever, and with whom-

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SIR GEORGE WHITE, THE BRITISH COMMANDER IN LADYSMITH, AND STAFF.

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soever of the colored nations to the north of the Vaal river.

"4. Forbade the existence of slavery to the north of the Vaal river by the emigrant farmers.

"5. Mutual facilities and liberty shall be afforded to traders and travelers on both sides of the Vaal river. Every wagon containing ammunition and firearms, coming from the south side of the Vaal river, shall produce a certificate, signed by a British magistrate or other functionary duly authorized, which shall state the quantities of such articles contained in such wagon, to the nearest magistrate north of the Vaal river, who shall act in the case as the regulation of the emigrant farmers may direct. * * * All trade in ammunition with the natives is prohibited both by the British government and the emigrant farmers, on both sides of the Vaal river.

"6. Criminals to be given up by each of the high contracting parties, and the Courts of the Crown and of the emigrant farmers to be mutually open to each other for all legitimate processes. (The mutual compulsion of attendance was provided for in the section.)

"7. Held all marriages legal under the laws of the high contracting parties.

"8. Provided for the free sale of land or property by parties resident on either north or south of the Vaal river."

The Sand River Treaty, as it is diplomatically known, was scrupulously observed by the government of the Transvaal. But it will be shown later on that every one of its covenants was dishonorably

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and flagrantly violated and set at defiance by the representatives of the queen's government in the South African peninsula. Powerful governments are prone to lightly regard treaty stipulations with weak or inferior nations, when their violation might secure a more or less important benefit. International obligations, however solemnly assumed, are observed through fear rather than held sacred through honor. The sword, or the shadow of it, is the bulwark of treaties. They are, in the case of petty nations or governments, but frail barriers against cupidity or aggression.

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CHAPTER IX.

A BROKEN TREATY.

There never was a people more entitled to freedom and self-government, than the emigrant farmers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Being instinctively devoted to liberty, no danger appalled them to obtain it for themselves and their descendants. They would not and could not submit to foreign domination, while there was an unclaimed region in the unexplored continent of Africa that could afford them a home. Adventurous, brave and self-reliant, they were the first civilized people who undertook to colonize the territories through which Kaffirs and Hottentots capriciously roamed, like wild animals. For a century and a half, they were engaged in ceaseless warfare with savage men and ferocious beasts of prey. But when they had made this rich and beautiful region habitable for European civilization, and were fostering the hope of henceforth enjoying liberty, con-

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tentment and prosperity under their own flag and government, the despoiler came to wrench from them the inheritance bequeathed by their fathers and to constrain them to submit to an unjustified dominion. Their ungovernable passion for freedom, forced them to fly from the sovereignty of Great Britain as established in the Colony of the Cape, as they were determined to never become subject to any foreign flag.

After England's acknowledgement of the independence of the Dutch republics, the Boers were only annoyed by the border Kaffirs who continued to make predatory excursions into their territory. They were obliged to be constantly vigilant to save themselves from being plundered by their savage neighbors. The Kaffir is by nature a coward. He is unwilling to fight unless from ambush, or when encouraged by superior numbers of his own kin. Like most of the untamed children of nature, the Kaffir is wily, resourceful and treacherous. The Boers were obliged to be incessantly wary of them, to save themselves from being plundered and exterminated. For a full quarter of a century after

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the independence of the Transvaal was conceded by Great Britain, the Boers were in an almost constant state of warfare with the tribes whose territories bounded them on the north. Those border troubles, as will be seen hereafter, were made a pretext to repudiate the positive injunction of Earl Grey, and to abrogate the solemn stipulations undertaken by the British government in the Sand River Convention.

British writers are prone to depict the Boers as nomads, who only find contentment when they are on the "trek". To realize the independence which they were about to establish in Cape Colony, when England planted her flag over them, the African Dutch were obliged to wander. They were determined to escape from the domination of a power they disliked, and to which they would not submit. Great Britain compelled them to wander like the Israelites of old, to find a land that would afford them promise of quietude and independence. An unquenchable thirst for liberty caused the South African Dutch to become nomads. They rested only where they hoped to find freedom. Their

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journeyings for nigh forty years, through the African peninsula, was compulsory. British supremacy compelled them to quit the Cape, where they had dwelt for a century and a half. Having by bravery unsurpassed in the history of any race or people, won for themselves, in Natal, a home where liberty could abide, the British invader again despoiled them of the reward of their valor and sacrifices. Robbed of the freedom they had so dearly purchased, but resolved not to rest until they had recovered it, the persecuted Boers had again to undertake a "trek". To Natal under British rule, they could not become reconciled. The savage people that were encouraged to make it their home, rendered it still more intolerable to the civilized and religious Dutch. The distinguished historian Froude, writing of the social conditions characteristic of the territory, said—

"Here, in Natal, are nearly 400,000 natives, who have come in under shelter of the British government, to escape the tyranny of their own chiefs. They are allowed as much land as they want for their locations. They are polygamists, and treat their women as slaves, while they themselves, remain idle or worse. It is little wonder that with

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such surroundings, few English colonists think of Natal as a permanent home."

For a period of fifteen years subsequent to the Sand River convention, the treaty which had been entered into between the British and the Boers was not substantially disregarded by the Cape officials, although they were ever on the lookout for an excuse to do away with it. The discovery of diamonds in the Orange Free State, in 1867, caused a large number of fortune-hunters to seek a home there. The great majority of those adventurers, were subjects of the British Crown. Their number was constantly increasing, as a consequence of the limitless supply and fabulous value of the gems that were found there. Six years before the diamond discovery, the Orange Free State territory had been enlarged, under the presidency of young Pretorius, son of the famous Andreas Pretorius of Boom Plaats celebrity. A large acquisition of territory was obtained from Lephin, Chief of the Bethulie tribe, by virtue of a treaty entered into between him and the Free State government. Adam Kok, chief of the Griqua tribe

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having resolved, in 1861, to remove with his people into Nomansland, sold his territory to the Boers; it included the district in which diamonds were subsequently found.

In 1865, the Basutos, who were constantly raiding the western border of the Orange State, again compelled the Boers to arm against them. Several sanguinary engagements resulted, in which the Basutos were defeated and obliged to yield a large tract of territory, under a peace treaty which was signed on April 3, 1866. Moshesh, the Basuto chief, grieving for the loss of so much of his dominion, made war again in 1867, for its recovery. He fought against the Boers with fierce determination. But he lost battle after battle, until his entire territory was captured, and himself forced to seek refuge in his final stronghold of Thaba Mosigo. Moshesh, beaten and powerless, threw himself upon the mercy of the British, beseeching them to intervene for the recovery of his captured territory, and undertaking to become with his people subject to the sovereignty of the queen.

The appeal of Moshesh for English interference,

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was a welcome pretext for the Cape authorities to ignore the express instructions of Earl Grey, and to wholly disregard the treaty which had resulted from them. They, however, hesitated to immediately take action, deeming it prudent to consult the home government, before assuming an interference which was solemnly forbidden by the covenant entered into between the Crown of England and the Boers. As a consequence of the alarmingly misleading representations made by the Cape authorities, to the government in London, the latter determined to modify the Anglo-Boer treaty. The Free State rulers, though anxious to insist upon a strict observance of it, consented to send a delegation to England, to peacefully arrange the issue between them and the Basuto chief. The Boers would have unflinchingly insisted that the British should observe the stipulations they had solemnly agreed to, but knowing that the officials at the Cape were eager for a quarrel, they preferred to yield something, in order to avoid war. The Basuto trouble was satisfactorily arranged by what is known as the "Aliwal North Convention".

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The Boers of the two republics, were getting daily more and more convinced that the Cape authorities contemplated the annexation of both States, and thus cancel their guaranteed independence. It was intended to unite all the territories of the African peninsula between the Cape and the Limpopo river, with the object of establishing in the "dark continent" an empire similar to that of Hindostan. The far-seeing friends of the Dutch republics, advised a consolidation of the two States, which would render them more powerful to resist any physical effort Great Britain might make, for the destruction of their freedom and the absorption of their territory. It was well understood that if either one would be extinguished as an independent government, the fate of the second, would thereby be pronounced. To realize the ambition of both the imperial and colonial governments, the Cape authorities undertook negotiations with prominent and influential men in both States, for a unification of their territories with those of the queen, the whole to be under the sovereignty of the British Crown. It was speciously urged by the Cape in-

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triguers, that the proposed confederation would prove infinitely more beneficial to the people of the Dutch republics, than the perpetuating of two distinct governments, ruling over territories possessing no maritime communications with the commercial nations of the world. The scheme for unification had been ingeniously designed and thoroughly developed. It provided for a uniform tariff for the confederated states, the establishment of extensive railroad and telegraphic connections between all parts of the consolidated territories, the development of their vast resources both mineral and agricultural, together with other plausible features, all of which were relied on to induce the Boers to surrender their guaranteed independence, and become loyal subjects of the British Crown. The Cape authorities had so dexterously conducted their intrigue for the extinction of Boer independence, that the government of the Orange Free State consented to the scheme of confederation, and was willing that its state would be incorporated with the South African territories of the English Crown. But in Pretoria a far abler and more far-

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seeing statesmanship was on the qui vive. Paul Kruger, ever astute and penetrative, regarded the English proposal as a sinister scheme to "eat up" the two republics, and to imperialize all South Africa under the British Crown. He emphatically protested against the proposition to surrender the independence of the Transvaal, and to allow the state to become an integral part of the African dominion of Queen Victoria. Through his patriotic devotion, astute statemanship, and inflexible determination, he frustrated the subtle design of the conspirators, and saved in 1866, the Orange Free State and his own, from absorption into the dominion of the English sovereign.

At the time Great Britain had acknowledged the independence of the Orange Free State, the latter was financially burdensome to the imperial exchequer. There was then but a remote prospect that it would become profitable to the empire, through progressive colonization or an increasing commerce. Its resources being unknown, and its population small, foreign in character, and anti-British in sentiment, the English government could

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only regard its retention as a costly burden. Had the great mineral resources of the Orange Free State been known to the agents of the queen's government, the instructions of Earl Grey would never have been written; nor would the faith and honor of the British empire have been pledged in a treaty that guaranteed unqualified independence to the inhabitants of the territory. Great Britain, like frail Marguerite in the opera of Faust, forgot its sacred honor, under the dazzling temptation of the gems possessed by the Boers of the Orange Free State.

When dealing with a weak or defenseless people, the English display an ability to create a quarrel, such as no other nation can parallel. The Orange diamonds were an irresistible temptation to which the imperial government was only too willing to yield. In the teeth of its own treaty, it could not wantonly invade the territory it had voluntarily surrendered and whose independence it had solemnly guaranteed. An excuse for the contemplated plunder was not difficult of creation. The British flag is supposed to follow and protect a

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British subject. Hundreds of Englishmen had settled in the diamond district. They would have but to complain of the exceptional severity of the prevailing laws of the territory in relation to resident foreigners to excite governmental intervention. The Cape officials and speculating capitalists conspired to have charges preferred against the Free State government, by English subjects in order to create an excuse for the direct interference of Great Britain. The proposed intervention was to be professedly in the interest of British subjects, but virtually to despoil the government of the Free State of the richest section of its territory. Audacious demands were made by the British authorities upon the Bloomfontein authorities, which they could not concede. Their refusal was adjudged sufficient justification for outraging the integrity of the Orange republic and seizing and annexing such portion of it as was most tempting to British cupidity. It being well understood that the Boers of the Orange State, were unable to resist aggression, Governor Barkley, on October 27, 1871, issued a proclamation declaring the territory south of the

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river Vaal, to be the property of the British Crown. The infant republic had to submit to the plunder perpetrated upon it as it was physically powerless to prevent it. The town of Kimberley, the heart of the rich diamond fields, is situated in the territory which was thus wantonly wrested from the government of the Orange Free State.

There is an epilogue to this act of shameless robbery:

In 1876, the Orange Free State appealed to Lord Carnarvon for some kind of redress. What President Brand obtained as the sole result of his special trip to England was the paltry sum of $500,000, for which he had to make over to the British, willy-nilly, the precious land out of which, since that time, values of over $5,000,000 have been extracted yearly.

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CHAPTER X.

TREACHERY AND INHUMANITY.

The most unscrupulous and aggressive of the British officials in the African peninsula was, in those days, Theophilus Shepstone, High Commissioner of Natal. He had under him a brother, to whom was committed the execution of the most perfidious designs against the natives, who had been encouraged to place themselves under British protection. The salient characteristics of the Shepstones, in their dealings with the savages, was hypocrisy, treachery and inhumanity. To extend the dominion of the crown in South Africa, Theophilus Shepstone was capable of any diabolical outrage against the rules of civilization or the laws of Christianity. His evil ambition was to elevate himself in the estimation of the crown government, and cause it to believe that his services were indispensable to the welfare of the South African possessions of the queen. His opinion was regarded as in-

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fallible by every official sent from England, to govern the British colonies in the African peninsula. His advice in all matters relating to the interests of the sovereign, or the empire, was unquestionably accepted, and his suggestions invariably adopted. By every untutored governor, who was sent to South Africa, he was regarded as the impersonation of British devotion and thorough statesmanship. He therefore had an unrestricted license to carry out any project which his perverted genius would devise.

In 1873, Sir Benjamin Pine was governor of Natal. Possessing but a very superficial knowledge of the political and social conditions prevailing in the colony, and which demanded his official attention, he permitted to Theophilus Shepstone, to exercise in fact the supreme power that was vested in himself in law. Pine was but the nominal governor of Natal, because of his ignorance of the necessities of the colony and his unwillingness to allow those who, certainly, understood them better, to perform the functions devolving upon him. Sir Benjamin Pine, not unlike

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others who had been appointed to governorships in minor dependencies of the crown, regarded his position as a sinecure, so long as its ostensible duties could be performed by his official subordinates. The large majority of the population whose destinies had been committed to him, were savages, and as such regarded by him as scarcely entitled to his distinguished consideration. Sir Benjamin therefore allowed Shepstone a free hand to deal according to his will with the native chiefs and their tribes in Natal. It is important that the character of that trusted official of the British crown be made clear to the reader, from his action toward the natives, as he was simultaneously intriguing to destroy the independence of the Transvaal and to bring that territory under the sovereignty of the queen.

The native chiefs and their people, who had been encouraged to settle in Natal, were peacefully disposed toward their civilized neighbors as well as toward the government. Several of the tribes had grown wealthy in cattle and horses. Their increasing prosperity excited the cupidity of the subor-

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dinate officials of the crown. To plunder and exterminate them, it was but necessary to devise charges against them, attributing to them hostile intentions against the white colonists or toward the queen's authority. Matshana was the chief of one of those tribes whose cattle and lands were coveted by the English settlers. His wealth and that of his people were sufficient grounds for charging him with a treasonable design against the peace of the commonwealth and the security of British power in the colony. The possession of arms by some of Matshana's tribe was construed as tangible proof that he was meditating a treacherous attack upon the white settlers in the neighborhood of the district which had been assigned to him. Theophilus Shepstone, ever willing to credit any report prejudicial to the natives, instructed his brother to proceed with an armed escort to the district occupied by Matshana and his tribe, and having captured the chief to bring him as a prisoner to Pietermaritzburg. John Shepstone, who was no less perfidious than his brother, caused a chief named Langalibalele to accompany him. When the expedition reached the

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kraal of Matshana, it found the alarmed chief surrounded by a large number of his young men, all of whom had arms. Shepstone, knowing that he would not be permitted to make a prisoner of Matshana if the savages, who would be willing to die for him, retained their weapons, dexterously parleyed with the chief until he consented to have his young men pile their arms in front of the spot where the conference between Shepstone and himself was about to be held. The commissioner pretending fear, caused Matshana to order the savages to retire some distance from their weapons and lie prostrate on the ground. The chief being now utterly defenseless, Shepstone signaled to his soldiers, who immediately rushed between Matshana's men and their weapons. Instantly the savages became convinced that some treachery was intended towards their chief. Rising excitedly to their feet, they rushed for their arms. Shepstone's soldiers were surprised by the sudden dash of Matshana's devoted guard. Most of the arms were recovered and a desperate struggle ensued, in which several on both sides were killed and many more wounded. Among

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the latter was Shepstone, who was thus frustrated in his effort to seize the unoffending chief, who fled into Zululand, followed by his faithful defenders.

Langalibalele, whom John Shepstone obliged to accompany him, when he set out from Pietermaritzburg to arrest Matshana, was subsequently accused of allowing his people to possess firearms without permission of the British authorities, and in violation of the laws which forbade natives to carry arms. This chief, who had been obliged to fly from Zululand to escape from the tyranny of its ruler, had been assigned territory in Natal, on condition that he and his people would protect the English colonists from the raids of savage Bushmen. To vindicate the obligation, he assumed that it was indispensable that his young men should be armed. Having learned the superiority of the guns used by the British over their own primitive weapons, they naturally desired to procure an equipment similar to that of the English. Many of the savages worked for the white settlers, both in Natal and the Orange Free State. Their employers frequently gave them guns in lieu of wages. So long as Langalibalele and

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his tribe were poor in cattle and sheep, no notice was taken of the arms in their possession. But when they had become rich in both, the charge of having unlicensed weapons was preferred against the chief and his followers, so that they might be despoiled of their herds and flocks, and banished from the territory. In British history there is recorded no more infamous episode than that of Theophilus Shepstone, in his action toward unoffending Langalibalele and his people. By such repeated acts of treachery, the rule of Great Britain in the African peninsula may be understood. It is indicative of the systematic policy pursued by the officials of the British crown, in their dealings not only with the uncivilized natives of the African continent, but with the industrious and inoffensive populations of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The unvarying system of hypocrisy, perfidy and plunder devised and pursued by the agents of the queen in South Africa for over a hundred years, with but temporary suspensions, is that which has outraged justice, Christianity, and civilization, and has finally brought down upon the British empire the stern

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wrath of a persecuted people, who believe themselves instruments in the hands of a long-patient Providence, for the vindication of His retributive justice.

Theophilus Shepstone, on receiving the complaint perfidiously preferred against Langalibalele, ordered him to come to Pietermaritzburg, to defend himself. The chief, remembering the treachery of which Matshana and his tribe were the victims and of which he had been a witness, was afraid to comply with Shepstone's mandate. Several subordinate officials were sent to his kraal, to persuade him to yield to the command of the High Commissioner. The tribe of Langalibalele, fearing that Shepstone's deputies intended to murder or carry off their chief, would not allow them to approach him, unless they would submit to be searched for arms. The protests of the deputies against what they regarded as an indignity offered them when acting as agents of the crown, were unavailing. They were forced to allow themselves to be minutely searched, which was construed by them as an act of treason against the majesty of the queen. Final-

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ly Shepstone's emissaries failed in their mission, as the tribe would not allow the chief to go to Pietermaritzburg. The report made by the deputies caused Shepstone to send a military expedition against Langalibalele and his tribe, taking command of it himself. The unfortunate chief, learning of its approach, immediately determined to fly from Natal with his devoted guards. He was obliged to leave behind the old men, women and children, believing that the British would not molest them, as they could not be made responsible for the acts of Langalibalele and his young warriors. In order to intercept the fugitives before they reached the Draakenberg mountains, through one of whose passes they intended to enter the Transvaal, Shepstone ordered Major Durnford to make forced marches, so as to occupy the pass with his command, before the savages could reach it. Not being acquainted with the topography of the country, he was ignorant of the shortest route to the Bushman's Pass, so that when he finally approached it, he found it occupied by the flying savages. The major's force, having been considerably lessened

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by hardship, he undertook to parley with the chief, in order to induce him to return to Natal. Durnford guaranteed him full protection, if he would place himself in his hands. In taking this pledge, the major was sincere, far beyond any of the officials in Natal. He was a just and honorable man; he had a thorough sympathy for the natives, and was but performing a disagreeable duty. While the parley between him and the chief was proceeding, the savages were crouching behind rocks, ready to resist any attempt that would be made to carry off Langalibalele. While Durnford and the chief were conferring, a shot was fired, which created a panic among the British soldiers. Langalibalele rushed affrighted away from Durnford The firing at once became general. The horse of the major's interpreter was shot. Durnford to rescue the latter from danger, took him by the collar, and was in the act of lifting him to a seat on his own horse when the interpreter fell lifeless to the ground, shot through the breast. Immediately another bullet struck the major in the shoulder; this forced him to order his

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soldiers to retreat, as already many of them had been killed, and a still larger number disabled.

The old men, women and children who had been left behind by Langalibalele, fearing British vengeance, hid in caves and sought other shelter behind rocks. They were mercilessly pursued by solders obeying the orders of Shepstone. The eye of heaven was never more outraged by man's inhumanity than during the search for those unoffending natives. When smoke failed to force them from the caves, rockets were fired into them to kill or maim the terrified wretches. One old man, who had refused to emerge from his cave until he was wounded in several places by the explosions of rockets, finally crawled out covered with blood. Throwing up his hands in an imploring manner, he piteously begged for mercy. The captain in command of the British instantly ordered him to be shot. Forthwith a soldier named Moody stepped out of the ranks and advancing to where the wounded savage was kneeling, put the muzzle of a pistol to his ear, and blew out his brains.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE NOBLE BISHOP COLENSO.

The escape of Langalibalele, and the loss he inflicted upon Major Durnford's force, inflamed the vengeful passions of Shepstone and his soldiers. They became insatiable for plunder and determined to spare none of the natives who were in any way affiliated with the tribe of the fugitive chief. The Putanis were another savage people who had been living under so-called British protection in Natal. They had been exceptionally prosperous, possessing valuable herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. They were remarkably industrious, and showed themselves well disposed towards both the white colonists and the government. No complaints were, or could be, made against them. But unfortunately, some of their women had been married to young men of Langalibalele's tribe. These, after the flight of their husbands, and dreading the vengeance of Shepstone and his troops, fled to their relatives in

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the Putani district. This was considered sufficient cause to plunder and exterminate the tribe. The soldiery was therefore let loose upon the inoffensive Putanis. Many of them were massacred. Their property was seized, and hundreds of women and children were made prisoners and marched to Pietermaritzburg. The treatment they received and the tortures they underwent during their terrible march of several weeks, defies adequate description. The inhumanity of their British captors was never exceeded in the history of fiendish cruelty. They were driven like cattle the entire distance, and denied sufficient food to support life. Numbers of the women had in their arms children but a few days old, while many infants were prematurely born on the road. Several died of hunger and hardship during the journey and those who lived to reach Pietermaritzburg were mere spectres of humanity. The massacre of the entire tribe by British sabres would have been mercy compared with the sickening horrors of which these wretched natives were the victims at the hands of England's representatives in South Africa.

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The shocking barbarity of Shepstone and his minions towards the inoffensive Putanis, appealed to the noble heart of the learned Dr. Colenso, the Bishop of Natal. He exposed, with a pen, eloquent with the passion of his outraged sense of humanity, the crimes of which Shepstone was the author. He determined to leave nothing undone, that was possible to him, to have all who were responsible for these atrocities chastised by the hand of the supreme government, and to have restitution made as much and as far as possible to the remnant of the Putani tribe. The Bishop appealed to Sir Benjamin Pine, the governor of Natal, on behalf of the Putanis. But he failed to obtain any consideration for them. Langalibalele had been in the meantime betrayed into the hands of the British by a Basuto chief named Molappo, who had agreed to shelter him. He was brought to Pietermaritzburg with his seven sons and several of his captains. As he and his fellow prisoners were being marched through the town, the brutal populace pelted him with all sorts of missiles. Thus was English civilization demonstrated on December 21, 1873. The British

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authorities subsequently brought the chief to Durban for trial. He was tried for treason by an illegally constituted court and condemned to death. The philanthropic Bishop Colenso did his best to secure for him a fair trial, but all his efforts were frustrated by Shepstone and his accomplices. The determined action of the Bishop, however, prevented the execution of the death sentence, which was commuted to imprisonment for life in Robbin island, where lepers and insane persons were kept in confinement. Langalibalele's seven sons and his chief men were also banished to this desolate island of the ocean. No less inhuman was the populace of Durban than that of Pietermaritzburg, for after the chief's conviction, it heaped curses upon him and assaulted him with stones as he was being taken to prison.

The lieutenant-governor of Natal, on November 11, 1873, issued a proclamation setting forth that Langalibalele and his tribe had openly rebelled against Her Majesty's government in Natal and were forcibly outlaws. The tribe was declared broken up and no longer in existence.

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That brutal proclamation justified in advance every white colonist in murdering any of the tribe that might have escaped the vengeance of Shepstone's soldiers and in seizing their lands and such property of the unfortunate people as had not been already appropriated. The heroic Bishop Colenso, despairing of obtaining justice for the natives in Natal, resolved to make a final appeal to Lord Carnarvon, who was Secretary of State for the Colonies. Dr. Colenso left for England on August 16, 1874. He took with him copies of his correspondence with Sir Benjamin Pine and a complete history of the infamies perpetrated against the two tribes. Every effort had been made by the guilty officials to prejudice the Secretary of State against the great ecclesiastic who had nobly espoused the cause of the plundered and persecuted tribes. Volumes of falsehoods had been written by the officials to deny the charges which they knew would be preferred against them, and to justify in the eyes of Lord Carnarvon the course they had pursued. They invented every species of misrepresentation, and left nothing unstated that might

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minimize the personal influence of the great Bishop of Natal.

Lord Carnarvon received the distinguished champion of the tribes, with the respect due to his eminence as a divine and a scholar. With all the force of his transcendant genius, Dr. Colenso pleaded in the interest of Christianity and British civilization for justice to the natives, and for retribution on those who were the authors of the revolting wrongs of which they were victims. In describing to Lord Carnarvon the general character of colonial government in South Africa, he said:

"The officials of the crown in South Africa seem to ignore the teachings of Christianity and the laws of civilization in their ambition to appear in the eyes of Her Majesty's government able and devoted servants. The governors who come from England are almost wholly unacquainted with the needs of the territories and the necessities of the natives. The supreme power vested in them is vicariously exerted by subordinates, who are indifferent to the honor of the crown and the demands of justice. The inhumanity and spoliation perpetrated by Natal officials upon the tribes for whom I plead, has not only outraged justice and civilization, but has cast an indelible stain upon the pages of British history. It is attributed to us, the English people, that we are the most enterprising and successful colonizers on the globe. That our flag

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PRESIDENT KRÜGER ESCORTING THE FIRST TROOPS TO THE R. R. STATION.

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has been ever the certain harbinger of civilization and Christianity. That the missionary and the Bible follow in the wake of our heroic and devoted legions. But as a servant of Heaven, whose commission I hold to preach the gospel of Christ, I am compelled to say, that every divine precept defined by the Redeemer of mankind, has been set at defiance by those who rule South Africa in the name of our gracious sovereign. Their crimes cry aloud for the wrath of a just and all seeing God. And the nation that tolerates them is sure to be held responsible for them to Him whose vengeance, however long delayed, is certain some day to be executed. The mightiest earthly power cannot withstand that of the angered Lord of Heaven. The policy that has been pursued in South Africa by the high officials of the crown, if not reversed, will one day entail upon the empire the chastisement it has been calculated to provoke."

Bishop Colenso returned to Natal in October, 1874. Notwithstanding his terrible arraignment of Theophilus Shepstone, the latter was still retained in power, being regarded as indispensable to the Natal government. But Lord Carnarvon considered that something should be done by Her Majesty's government to show that it was not entirely indifferent to the complaints and pleadings of Dr. Colenso. Sir Benjamin Pine, because of his supreme authority as governor of the colony, was held

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responsible for the crimes of his subordinates. He was therefore removed from office and recalled to England. Lord Carnarvon further ordered that the Putani prisoners be set at liberty and compensation made to them for the plunder perpetrated upon them. He also condemned the manner in which Langalibalele had been tried and the action of the colonial authorities in connection with it. He finally ordered the liberation of the chief and all of his tribe who were held prisoners. But the reparation intended by Lord Carnarvon was never fully made. Langalibalele was sent to a distant and sterile part of the territory, where his people were not allowed to see him, pending "preparations" which were never prepared.

Dr. Colenso's humane intervention was so far successful, although the evil system of colonial government, of which he complained, underwent little change. The ambition of Shepstone was to amalgamate all the South African territories, from the Cape north to the Limpopo river. To effect his scheme of imperializing all sections of the peninsula, he needed but the consent of the supreme govern-

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ment. To obtain it, he constantly urged upon the Secretary of State, the necessity of annexing the Transvaal territory and the Orange Free State. So long as their independence was respected, he could not hope to realize his cherished aspiration. He determined not to be diverted from his sinister purpose of making a unit of the South African states, over which should wave the imperial flag of England.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE CORONATION OF A SAVAGE KING.

Beyond all the native chiefs of South Africa, Cettywayo was Theophilus Shepstone's favorite. He had been declared the successor of his father, when he was but a lad, after a sanguinary struggle between two Zulu factions, one of which favored an elder brother of Cettywayo. The father of the boys was so old and corpulent, that he was incapable of discharging his kingly functions. The opposing factions in selecting the rival princes, were contending for mastery in Zululand, which each desired to rule, under such one of the brothers as would be successful in establishing his right to the throne. The factions fought with savage desperation, until the feud was terminated by the killing the brother of Cettywayo. The young prince was virtually king before the death of his father, in 1873. He desired to be regarded as friendly toward the British, who ruled the territory that

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bordered his dominion. Theophilus Shepstone professed the deepest interest in him, and regarded him as a special ward of the Crown. When speaking of him, he eulogized him as the most intelligent, sagacious and humane of all the savage sovereigns of the African peninsula. Cettywayo regarded Shepstone as his patron and sincere friend. The latter allowed him to indulge in that delusion until the opportune time arrived to "eat him up" and to assert the supremacy of the queen over him and his people. When the old king died, Cettywayo sent a special message to Shepstone, to inform the official of his father's demise. The Natal commissioner took a feline delight in playing with the unsuspicious youth he had determined to devour, when the suitable hour would arrive. The Zulus were a powerful savage tribe, whose proximity was regarded by Shepstone as a menace to the peace and security of the colony of Natal. His policy was to pretend friendship for the young king, so that he could bring him under his special control. Shepstone, on learning that the old chief had died, determined to carry out a farcical ceremony of

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crowning Cettywayo, so that it might seem he ascended to the throne of Zululand, under the auspices of the British crown. No incident in the history of South Africa sheds more light upon the dark and sinister policy of the English, than Shepstone's scheme to place a mimic crown on the head of this royal savage.

To put in execution his ingenious program, he had manufactured a tinsel crown approaching in form that worn by the sovereigns of England. Its jewels were colored glass which Shepstone intended to dazzle the eyes of the unsophisticated savage. To make the august ceremony more regally perfect, it was necessary to procure a spectacular robe to drape the kingly form of the juvenile sovereign of Zululand, while he sat in state on the throne of his barbaric ancestors. The range of Shepstone's fertile faculties was as limitless as the latter were creative. Elated by the splendor of his conception, he communicated to an English lady friend, the momentous mission he was about to undertake, soliciting her aid to secure for him a robe of state, to render perfect the royal ceremonial.

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The lady humorously undertook to play a part in the king-making comedy which was ludicrously described to her by Shepstone. After indulging in repeated peals of laughter over the commissioner's prospective pantomime, she said:

"Theophilus, I think I can supply you with a robe sufficiently suitable for the occasion. It is a scarlet opera cloak I have but thrice worn. Although I prize it as a present given to me by a dear friend, I will cordially give it you, that I may have the pride of claiming that I am the first English lady, that bestowed upon a royal savage the garb of civilization."

When Shepstone had procured all the paraphernalia needed to render the coronation of Cettywayo an enthralling spectacular display for savage eyes, he set out for the royal kraal, accompanied by Major Durnford and a few other of the chief officials of the government. Cettywayo had been apprised of the exceptional honor which was about to be conferred upon him, and by which he would enter into royal cousinship with Her gracious Majesty of England. Shepstone in anticipation of the

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august ceremony in which he was to play the part of a Canterbury Cathedral dignitary made himself conversant with the sacred formula which is scrupulously observed in the coronation of British sovereigns. When he and his party reached the royal kraal, the young savage was tutored as to how he was to act during the supreme operation of making him a king, according to the orthodox code of British civilization. Cettywayo inwardly regarded Shepstone's intended performance as unmitigated humbug. His father and all his predecessors were kings in Zululand, without crowns or cloaks to signalize their assuming sovereignty. He listened with manifest embarrassment, to the preparatory instructions given him through an interpreter. The young savage could see no necessity for such a formality as Shepstone had determined to observe, after his tribe had acknowledged him to be their king. Still he was disposed to regard it as an expression of the Commissioner's friendship for him, and consequently that of the British queen and government.

Shepstone's performance of the pantomime, was

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punctitiously gone through according to the rubrics for the coronation of English monarchs. With the submission of a martyr, Cettywayo allowed the pompous king-maker, to place the tinsel crown upon his head and the scarlet opera cloak around his athletic shoulders. Shepstone oiled his dusky forehead and placed in his hand the baton of a band-master. Cettywayo was now hailed as the duly consecrated sovereign of Zululand. It was then important that he be educated as to his royal duties. Previous to leaving Pietermaritzburg, Shepstone delivered a lecture which he regarded as an indispensable finale to the coronation ceremony. The Natal commissioner intended the injunctions it expressed as solemn stipulations entered into between the young king and the British government, on the day of his coronation. No act of the wily Shepstone more lucidly reveals his instinctive perfidy than his lecture to Cettywayo, after his farcical performance in the royal kraal. It will be shown that when the time came to "eat him up," and rob him of his kingdom, Shepstone's coronation lecture was held to be a treaty, whose conditions were

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disregarded and the violation of whose covenants justified the British in waging war against him.

The kings of Zululand had been signally cruel and bloodthirsty. It had been customary with them to put to death their wives after giving birth to children. They not infrequently murdered both mother and infant, according to their savage and capricious moods. Natives who were supposed to practice witchcraft were invariably murdered because of the superstitious instincts of the race. Human life was disregarded when the savage passion for blood would be aroused. The most trivial offenses were sufficient to entail the penalty of death at the hands of the barbaric sovereigns of Zululand. While Shepstone himself, as has been shown, was scarcely less inhuman in the exercise of his power, he yet professed to be revolted by the atrocity that was characteristic of the Zulu chiefs. He therefore ordered Cettywayo to avoid the savage custom of shedding human blood, as was the practice of his ancestors, adding that he should afford protection to Christian missionaries who would come to his territory to educate and civilize his untutored peo-

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ple. He further told him that it was only by a strict observance of those instructions that the sovereign and government of Great Britain would be the friends of the Zulu king and his people.

Cettywayo silently listened to the injunctions which Shepstone undertook to impress upon him. Savage though he was, he still understood that it was audacious on the part of the commissioner to define to him how he should govern his country and his people. Having an instinctive dread of English power, which he had seen wantonly misused against the Boers who had established themselves in Natal, he deemed it prudent to conceal his indignation, lest he would offend Shepstone, and thus incur his disfavor. He therefore uttered no dissent to the imperious admonitions addressed to him. Shepstone returned to Pietermaritzburg, exulting in his belief that he had achieved a great diplomatic triumph by making the king of Zululand subservient to the queen of England, and his territory an appanage of the British crown.

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CHAPTER XIII.

VICE-REGAL MAGNIFICENCE.

The territory of Cettywayo was bounded on the west by the Transvaal territory. As there was no defined line of demarcation between the Zulu domain and that of the Boers, disputes were frequent between the natives and their Dutch neighbors. Each claimed the ownership of border lands on which the Boers grazed their flocks and herds. Complaints were being constantly made to the young king, that the lands of his people were being trespassed upon by the farmers of the Transvaal. Cettywayo had Shepstone informed of what he regarded as the plunder of his territory, threatening to employ force for the assertion of his people's claims if the dispute could not be peacefully arranged. The commissioner enjoined the chief to avoid war, promising that he would take care that no part of his dominion should be taken from him. Cettywayo, in deference to the advice of Shepstone,

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refrained from making war, relying upon the commissioner to have justice done to himself and his people. Shepstone, however, was but deluding the chief when promising to have his rights respected by the Boers. His subtle purpose was to first seize upon the Transvaal and proclaim it British territory, and then to either reduce the Zulu sovereign to a condition of absolute subserviency to English rule or to drive him from his kingdom. The disputes of the natives and the Dutch were gratifying to him, as they would prove beneficial for the realization of the scheme of annexation which was his supreme ambition. The quarrels between the natives and the Boers could, at a future time, be used as a cogent reason for the extinction of Dutch independence in the Transvaal, and the absorption of the republic's territory under the British crown. It was Shepstone's subtle policy to appear friendly to Cettywayo, as the king had a large number of fighting men that could be made use of to intimidate the Boers, when the time would arrive for the suppression of their independence. The Zulu king, under the tutelage of John Dunn, who was his immigra-

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tion agent, was peaceably disposed. Dunn was worthy of the confidence vested in him by Cetty-wayo, but although a man of exceptional wisdom and foresight, he was still as much deceived as was his master by the simulated friendship of Shepstone.

On the northern border of the Transvaal there occurred other disputes about the ownership of lands between the Bapede tribe and the neighboring Dutch farmers. Chief Secocoeni demanded tribute for a large area of pasture land on which the Boers grazed their herds and flocks. The latter refused to comply with the chief's demand on the ground that they had purchased the lands from one of the small chiefs, who originally owned them. Secocoeni, unlike the Zulu king, was under no British control, and having an instinctive passion for fighting, collected all his forces and opened war upon the Boers. Several sanguinary battles ensued, in each of which the Dutch farmers were victorious. The savages fought with fierce determination, but being rudely equipped, were overmatched by the deadly rifles of their enemies. Secocoeni was finally overwhelmed, and obliged to sue for peace, which was granted

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him on the condition that he would forego all claim to the disputed territory, and pay to the Transvaal government an indemnity of two thousand head of cattle.

These border troubles, which in no way injuriously affected British interests in South Africa, were used as a pretense by Shepstone to misrepresent the Boers to Lord Carnarvon and to prejudice him against them. While the war was being prosecuted by Secocoeni, he was secretly receiving encouragement from Shepstone to persevere in it, with the sinister purpose of having the Boers so physically weakened that when the time for annexation would come, they would be powerless to make resistance. In its colonial relations the imperial government is ever influenced by the representations made to it by the resident officials of the crown. Lord Carnarvon, in the face of the Sand River treaty, voluntarily entered into by his predecessor, Earl Grey, desired to obtain minute information in relation to the Transvaal before consenting to its annexation, which would be an audacious abrogation of a solemn and binding convention. So,

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although Shepstone depicted the Boers as dishonest and aggressive, and gave as proof of the indictment he preferred against them their quarrels with the native chiefs, Lord Carnarvon refused to prematurely comply with the commissioner's recommendation. He, however, decided upon sending to Natal a special envoy, who would acquire a thorough knowledge of the Transvaal affairs, both externally and domestically, and only then make to the imperial government such report as his investigation would warrant.

Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed by Lord Carnarvon as commissioner extraordinary to Natal, to obtain for the government thoroughly reliable information in relation to the South African republic. Military men are rarely qualified for diplomatic duties, which only trained and experienced officials can perform. Sir Garnet Wolseley was a lifelong soldier and successful warrior, whose instincts would urge him to recommend much that sound and deliberate statesmanship would condemn. His career as a distinguished commander was signalized by conquest and annexation. It was therefore ex-

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pected that he would advise the suppression of Boer independence and the absorption of the Transvaal territory into the South African dominion of the crown.

Lord Carnarvon's commissioner extraordinary arrived in Pietermaritzburg on March 1, 1875. He was surrounded by a military staff, radiant in gold lace and scarlet uniforms. Royalty itself could not live more regally than did Sir Garnet Wolseley after his advent to Natal. There was no limit to his princely hospitality. His levees and balls were enchanting, spectacular displays, which brought to Pietermaritzburg all the grace and beauty of the queen's dominion in South Africa. Military officers came from the Cape to greet their sovereign's most famous general and to render still more brilliant with their uniforms the dazzling entertainments of Her Majesty's grand commissioner. The suppers supplied by Sir Garnet to his guests were on a par with the magnificence of his balls and receptions. Sir Garnet Wolseley's royal reign in Pietermaritzburg is a memorable epoch in the history of Natal.

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In the great commissioner's display of splendid hospitality there was a subtle purpose. Many distinguished and influential members of the Dutch communities in the several colonies of South Africa were invited to the court of Sir Garnet Wolseley. To those Her Majesty's representative paid flattering attention. He tactfully controlled his instinctive haughtiness of manner, when in society with them. He had determined to impress them with the splendor of his style and the magnificence of his hospitality, and he artfully endeavored to captivate their hearts by his excessive courtliness and affability. To the Dutch ladies who attended his regal entertainments, he was delightfully insinuating. Sir Garnet had studied well the part he undertook to play in the vice-royal pantomime that was to precede the annexation of the South African Republic to the British crown.

Until the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley, Pietermaritzburg was one of the most dull and lifeless places in the African peninsula. Its people were remarkable for their persevering somnolence. It was their custom to lie in bed until the great gun of

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Fort Napier would announce the time to rise, which was nine o'clock A. M. Because of the characteristic lethargy of its inhabitants, Pietermaritzburg was known as "Sleepy Hollow." Sir Garnet, as supreme ruler of the colony, considered it a duty to infuse, with the help of powder, more animation into the indolent subjects of the queen in that part of her dominions. He therefore ordered that the big gun of Fort Napier should be fired at eight A. M., which caused to the people of Pietermaritzburg an unpleasant and ever memorable sensation.

Sir Garnet's splendid and limitless hospitality at length caused people to suspect that it was not the spontaneous expression of his personal generosity. Its extravagant and costly luxury was considered beyond the range of his financial means. It was finally whispered around that the advent of the grand commissioner foreshadowed some approaching event which would surprise the people of South Africa, and that Sir Garnet, in preparation for it, was endeavoring to "drown the public conscience in sherry and champagne." A prominent and outspoken Englishman having been asked what the

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purpose was of Sir Garnet's gorgeous display and princely hospitality, said:

"Well, I will honestly give you my opinion, as you have asked me for it. His object is to dazzle the Dutch by reflecting the splendor of royalty in order to weaken their devotion to republicanism. It is known that they are not in love with British rule in South Africa. In the meantime, these alluring festivities of Sir Garnet Wolseley will cost a very large sum, which at the end the colonists of Natal shall have to pay."

The special, inward mission of Sir Garnet Wolseley to South Africa was to learn if the conditions existing in the South African Republic would justify or excuse its immediate annexation, as had been urged by Theophilus Shepstone. Lord Carnarvon was opposed to the employment of any violent measure that would compromise the government, as it was committed to an observance of the Sand River convention. It had been learned that the Orange Free State was inclining towards a unification of all the South African colonies under the English crown, and it was hoped that if it was won

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over to the scheme of confederation that it would prove either an inducement or a necessity for the Transvaal republic to follow its example. Sir Garnet Wolseley was no less anxious than Theophilus Shepstone for the annexation of the South African Republic, but he was more scrupulous than the latter as to the means by which it should be accomplished. Sir Garnet, acting under special instruction, was regardful of treaty obligations and of the honor of the government which was involved by them. Shepstone, on the other hand, was indifferent to guaranteed rights or imperial honor, and was willing to ignore both to realize the object of his unrighteous ambition.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, after six months of investigation, wrote to Lord Carnarvon that the time was inopportune for undertaking such action as Theophilus Shepstone had advised, and that it could not be safely begun for years. He had learned that the Dutch people resident in both Cape Colony and Natal were unreconciled to British rule, and he therefore apprehended that they would rise en masse, should the Boers of the Transvaal take up

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arms to maintain their independence. Sir Garnet shrunk from recommending to the government the adoption of measures that would be calculated to inflame the anti-British passions of the Dutch, and might culminate in civil war against the two colonies of the crown.

The report made to the government by Sir Garnet Wolseley being adverse to the representations previously made to it, caused Lord Carnarvon to call Shepstone to London, in 1876. It was supposed that his long experience in South African affairs, as an officer of the Crown, qualified him beyond any other official, to furnish the government with the fullest information relating to the Transvaal. The reports made about him by various colonial governors, gave him the reputation of being as wise in counsel as he was able and energetic in the discharge of his active duties. Shepstone's interviews with Lord Carnarvon, confirmed the judgment the colonial secretary had formed of the sagacity, ability and devotion of the South African Commissioner. He was regarded as worthy of the implicit confidence of Her Majesty's government.

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His visit to England turned out an unqualified success. The government felt delighted to possess such an efficient and reliable official in the South African dominion of the queen. It was but meet that imperial gratitude should be expressed in the case of such a valuable servant. He was therefore selected by the queen for the honors of knighthood and became Sir Theophilus Shepstone, K. C. M. G. The favor bestowed upon him by the government, indicated the approaching extinction of Boer independence and the annexation of the Transvaal to the other Colonies of the Crown. The Sand River treaty was soon to be considered as a null and void covenant.

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE TRANSVAAL ANNEXED.

Shepstone had made such a favorable impression upon the government, that he was appointed, on October 5, 1876, Special Commissoner to make enquiry respecting disturbances which had occurred in the territories adjoining the colony of Natal. Sir Theophilus Shepstone returned to South Africa, invested with the following royal authority:

"Whereas grievous disturbances have broken out between the white inhabitants and natives races, to the great peril of the peace of our colonies in South Africa, and if the emergency should seem to you such as to render it necessary, in order to secure the peace and safety of our said colonies, and of our subjects elsewhere, that the said territories should be administered in our name and on our behalf, then in such case only, do we further authorize you by proclamation under your hand, to declare that from and after a day to be therein named, so much of any territory aforesaid, as to you shall seem fit, be annexed to and form part of our dominion. Provided that no such proclamation shall be issued by you, to any district, territory or state, unless you shall be satisfied that the inhabitants thereof, or a sufficient number of them, or the legislature thereof,

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desire to become our subjects, nor if any conditions unduly limiting our power and authority therein are sought to be imposed."

The warrant of the queen invested Sir Theophilus Shepstone with the ample power he had been for so long anxious to obtain. The consent of the inhabitants or of the legislature, as a necessary condition to annexation, the Special Commissioner was determined to ignore. He had convinced the government that the Boers of the Transvaal were morally unfit for state sovereignty, besides creating troubles with all the border chiefs, with the object of extending the dominion of the South African republic. The government was induced to consider Dutch independence in both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State as a menace to the stability of the queen's authority in Natal and Cape Colony. The conditions defined in Her Majesty's warrant, as essential to annexation, Shepstone regarded as only intended to modify the criminal complexion which the despotic seizure of the Boer territory would surely bear in the face of the Sand River convention. The Special Commissioner well knew that the queen's warrant empowered him to act as he

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might choose, and at any time that he would think most opportune to execute his nefarious design.

On the part of the imperial government, there was neither justification nor excuse for the power it conferred upon Sir Theophilus Shepstone. The issue of Her Majesty's warrant was as dishonoring to the crown, as it was morally indefensible. It was one of the most wanton and audacious violations of a solemn international convention that was ever charged against a civilized government. The Boers of the Transvaal had faithfully observed the stipulations entered into between them and the British government. Lord Grey, in 1851, as Secretary of the Colonies, ordered that non-intervention by Her Majesty's South African officials, in relation to troubles between the emigrant farmers and the natives, should be henceforth the fixed and unalterable policy of the crown's representatives in the African peninsula. On the instructions of Lord Grey, the Sand River Treaty was based, and so long as the Transvaal government vindicated its obligations and its faith as an independent power, Great Britain could not, without outraging national hon-

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or, ignore the conditions to which the empire was committed.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone, elated over the supreme power conferred upon him, determined not to delay the assertion of it. In anticipation of possible but improbable resistance by the Boers, when the proclamation of annexation would be issued, he ordered a regiment to Newcastle, which is situated on the east side of the Draakenberg range, which divides Natal from the Transvaal. The soldiers would therefore be at hand, should their services be required. To further strengthen himself to suppress any hostile effort the Boers might make to maintain their independence, he caused Cettywayo to concentrate his savage army on the border of the Transvaal. He was, however, satisfied that the Dutch farmers were powerless to make an effective struggle against the force at his command, as they had but closed a long and wasting war with Secacoeni. Every essential to a consummation of his long-cherished design, was available in the early part of 1877. He had been hypocritically pretending friendship for Cettywayo for years, in order to se-

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cure his aid when the hour would come to annex the South African Republic to Her Majesty's dominions.

On April 9, 1877, Sir Theophilus Shepstone told Mr. Burgers, the president of the Transvaal republic, that the authority of the queen was likely to be soon asserted over the South African republic. At the time the commissioner was making this startling announcement to President Burgers, the annexation proclamation had been issued, for at a later hour of the day, the Transvaal government was officially informed that the South African Republic no longer existed, and that the territory known as the Transvaal was now under the dominion of the English crown. Consternation was visible on every Boer face when Shepstone's infamy was revealed. Indignation, rage and vengeance inflamed every Dutch heart within the Transvaal. But the farmers, being incapable of engaging in a physical struggle, had no alternative between submission to galling British rule and another "trek" to some part of savage Africa, where they would be free from English domination. The only course open to the

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members of the suppressed government was to express a solemn protest against the treacherous action of Sir Theophilus Shepstone. Mr. Burgers accordingly, after consultation with his colleagues, addressed the following manifesto to Her Majesty's Special Commissioner:

"Whereas I have not the power to draw the sword with good success, for the defense of the independence of the state, against a superior power like that of England, and, in consideration of the welfare of the whole of South Africa, moreover feel disinclined to involve its white inhabitants in a disastrous war, without having beforehand exhausted all the means to secure the rights of the people, in a peaceable way.

"So I, in the name and by the authority of the government and the people of the South African Republic, do hereby solemnly protest against the intended annexation.

"Given under my hand and under the Seal of the State, at the government office at Pretoria, on this the 11th day of April in the year 1877.

"Thomas Burgers,
"State President."

The indignant protest of President Burgers implied a determination on the part of the people of the Transvaal never to reconcile themselves to British sovereignty. It indicated also that if they had been in a physical condition to prevent the

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spoliation of their territory, and the extinction of their independence, they would have immediately declared war. Having dwelt so long in the Transvaal, where, since the Sand River convention, they had been free from British interference, they regarded it as their final home. Although not in a position to engage in a struggle for the preservation of the rights which England had guaranteed to them, and which she now treacherously invaded, they resolved to at once prepare to make, at some not distant time, a supreme effort to regain their plundered independence. In February, 1878, a large number of Boers met at Wonderfontein and adopted the following address:

"Fully forty years ago, our fathers fled from the Cape Colony, in order to become a free and independent people. We established Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic. Three times the English government has trampled on our liberty, and dragged to the ground our flag, which our fathers had baptized with their blood and tears. As by a thief in the night, our Republic has been stolen from us. We may nor can endure this. It is God's will, and is required of us by the unity of our fathers and by love to our children, that we should hand over intact to our children the legacy of the fathers. For that purpose it is, that we have come together and give each other the right hand as men

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and brethren, solemnly promising to remain faithful to our country and our people, and with our eyes fixed on God, to co-operate until death, for the restoration of the freedom of our country. So help us Almighty God."

There is small room for doubt that Sir Theophilus Shepstone deceived Lord Carnarvon, in relation to the anti-British sentiment of the Boers. It was known to Sir Garnet Wolseley that the Transvaal Dutch were devoted to independence, and he therefore hesitated to advise despotic intervention for the suppression of the Republic. When the annexation became known, there was immediately formed a determination to resist civil authority throughout the entire territory. In a certain district a farmer was cited before a landdrost on a charge of having misused a native, by the infliction of physical punishment. On the day set for the trial, a body of armed farmers assembled at the residence of the magistrate, and intimidated him from exercising his official functions. It is probable that if Lord Carnarvon had had any real knowledge of the heroic devotion to freedom which distinguished the inhabitants of the Transvaal, he

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would not have allowed Shepstone to thus wantonly exercise the arbitrary power that was conferred upon him. If the Colonial Secretary of State placed any reliance on the representations made to him by Bishop Colenso, respecting Shepstone's unjust and inhuman treatment of the natives, he ought to have considered it dangerous to place such extraordinary power in his hands. Whether Lord Carnarvon did or did not mean that the conditions set forth in the royal warrant should be observed, as preliminary to annexation, the Commissioner was determined to ignore them. Shepstone, in common with all the high officials in South Africa, was ambitious to see the British flag floating over every part of the peninsula. He knew that accomplished facts, no matter how iniquitously they may have been conceived, or how perfidiously they had been executed, are never reversed by a government, when they have been undertaken for the honor of the crown, or the benefit of the empire. Sir Théophilus Shepstone was encouraged to disregard the qualified degree of authority vested in him by Lord Carnarvon. He had been honored by the crown,

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notwithstanding that Lord Carnarvon had virtually condemned his conduct in the case of Langalibalele and his people, as also in the case of the infamously treated Putani tribe.

The members of the suppressed government fostered the supposition that the queen had not been consulted in relation to the outrage which had been committed in her name. They indulged the hope that if she were made aware of the spoliation of their territory and the extinction of the independence which by a solemn treaty she was bound to respect, she would compel the imperial government to observe the stipulations of the Sand River convention, and oblige it to withdraw the British flag from the Transvaal. It was therefore decided to send a deputation to Queen Victoria, to place before her the outrage which had been perpetrated upon the independent Boers, and to ask her intervention for a restoration of their plundered rights. Paul Kruger, ex-vice-president of the republic, and Dr. Jorrissen, who had been its Attorney-General, were appointed a delegation to represent the government and people of the Transvaal. The advent

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of the Boer delegates to London had been anticipated by the government. It had been determined that the queen should not honor them by an audience. The Transvaal had been annexed to the British crown, and the government would not recommend Her Majesty to undo what had been done in the interest of the empire by her Special Commissioner, Sir Theophilus Shepstone. The trustful Boers had been nursing a delusion when they hoped that the queen would reverse what her government had permitted and endorsed. The failure of Mr. Kruger and his colleagues caused wild excitement throughout the Transvaal. Large indignation meetings were held, which the English authorities proclaimed illegal, threatening to arrest and prosecute all who would take part in them. The hostile spirit of the Boers was inflamed all over the colony. It became defiant and insuppressible. The farmers never failed to attend the meetings called by the leaders of the people. The longest distances to the rallying points had no discouraging influence upon them. Nothing could dampen their patriotic ardor

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or weaken their heroic determination. There was a universal resolution to resist the usurped authority which England was trying to enforce.

In those days, began to grow fiercer and fiercer, the fire of hatred against the perfidious government of the queen. Fanned by later events, it was soon to cause a general conflagration, the harbinger of the terrible crisis of 1899-1900.

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CHAPTER XV.

CETTYWAYO ROBBED OF HIS KINGDOM.

Chief Cettywayo, after demonstrating his devotion to Sir Theophilus Shepstone by concentrating his army on the Transvaal frontier, when the annexation of the state was about to be proclaimed, was confident that the disputed territory would at once be restored to him, and that the Boers, who occupied the lands claimed by him, would be expelled from them. The Zulu king, becoming impatient for a final settlement of the claim made by him years before, caused Shepstone to write to Lord Carnarvon respecting it. Shepstone determined not to yield, as the disputed territory had ever been regarded by the Boers as belonging to the defunct South African Republic, which was now under the queen's sovereignty.

In writing to Lord Carnarvon on the subject, Shepstone said: "I shall be forced to take some action with regard to the lands in question, but I shall

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be careful to avoid any direct issue." To appease Cettywayo, whose anger was at last aroused by the unperformed promises made to him, a commission was appointed to investigate the basis of his claim. After a perfunctory inquiry, the disputed territory was pronounced to be part of the Zulu kingdom, and thus the property of Cettywayo. Notwithstanding that declaration, there was no intention on the part of the British of handing it over to him. The young chief was gratified with the award, and expected that Shepstone would not delay its execution. But weeks and months passed, without Shepstone giving any sign of his intention to transfer the territory. Cettywayo at length became distrustful. Despairing of justice at the hands of the Commissioner, he sent messages to Bishop Colenso, soliciting his intervention with the queen, to have his territory yielded up to him. The Bishop wrote to Sir Henry Bulwer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, on behalf of the injured chief. But Bulwer was in league with Shepstone to not only cheat Cettywayo out of what had been declared his rightful property, but to force him and his dominion un-

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der the sovereignty of the British crown; so Sir Henry Bulwer wrote as follows to the High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere: "A settlement of the question by direct negotiations between the government of the Transvaal and the Zulu king is at an end."

There never was such an unscrupulous and shameless combination of officials as the Beaconsfield administration, appointed to govern the South African peninsula. They were an indivisible unit in devising and executing the most perfidious schemes of plunder, in order to extend the sovereignty of the queen. Now that they had despoiled the Boers of their independence, they were resolved to rob and subjugate the royal savage they had been petting for years. There is no baser or blacker treason in British history than that of Shepstone and his accomplices toward the unsuspicious and friendly king of Zululand. It was a diabolical parallel for the infamies of Clive and Warren Hastings in Hindostan. It is no cause for wonder that Christianity and civilization would be detested by the untamed children of nature, when they stand face

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to face with both, and witness the hideous crimes which are committed in their name. The acts of British officials in distant colonies of the crown, would proclaim Christianity a sham and declare civilization to mean massacre and spoliation.

Cettywayo, driven to desperation, determined to depend on himself alone for a redress of his wrongs and a vindication of his rights. The British officials were resolved to goad him into war. Abandoning all hope of receiving justice from them, he finally wrote to Sir Henry Bulwer: "I cannot and will not submit to be turned out of my own houses. I may be vanquished, but as I am not the aggressor, death will not be so hard to meet." The chief had concluded to fight for the assertion of his claims, and to prevent further invasion of his territory. As a preparation for the resolute course he intended to pursue, he commenced the erection of a strong kraal upon the border of the territory which was declared to belong to him. Shepstone, learning of it, became irate and sent an order that the work should be discontinued. He commanded that it should be stopped "at all hazards," and told Cetty-

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wayo that he would "send a force to Rorke's Drift, on the border of Zululand." The king replied: "And should I in return, send another force to encamp just opposite, would it be possible that the two forces would be looking at each other for two days without a row?" Shepstone had no further use for Cettywayo. As an independent sovereign, with a large and savage army at his command, he might, under a possible contingency, prove dangerous to the peace and safety of the British colonies in South Africa. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was apprehensive that the Boers might make overtures to Cettywayo, to obtain his aid to recover their independence. He had made both the enemies of Great Britain, and it would be within the range of possibility that their original differences would be amicably arranged and an alliance entered into between them of a hostile nature against England. The Special Commissioner assured himself that the Boers, without such aid as Cettywayo could give them, would not attempt to appeal to force, to regain their independence, because of the overwhelming power Great Britain could employ against

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A BOER SOLDIER.

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them. Those considerations caused Sir Theophilus Shepstone to feel that it had become essential to the interests of the crown to "eat up" Cettywayo. To that course he was strongly urged by some of the missionaries who had undertaken to Christianize the heathen savages of Zululand. Those consecrated propagandists considered the sword more efficacious than the Bible in extinguishing heathenism among the savages of Africa. Wholly unlike the noble Bishop Colenso, they were the enemies of the people among whom they had been sent to preach the gospel of Christ. On December 17, 1878, the Rev. D. Hepburn wrote: "All in these parts are quiet and are likely to remain quiet, if His Excellency overthrows the Zulu chief and disarms the remaining Zulus." Another Christian missionary, the Rev. Mr. Glockner, wrote: "God, our God! put it into the minds of our rulers that all tribes in Southeast and East Africa must submit to British power. Heathenism must perish. God wills it so. Sword in hand, the British are irresistible over all nations."

The humane and pious Bishop of Natal con-

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demned in trenchant language the unchristian sentiments of those "five eyed" missionaries. They were, however, regarded by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, as a sacred sanction of the course he was about to pursue in relation to the young Zulu king. The Special Commissioner had ordered Cettywayo to disband his army, as he had no use for it, his territory being now surrounded on three sides by the dominions of the queen. The demand made upon him by Shepstone convinced the chief that the man he once regarded as a friend, was now meditating some evil against him. Cettywayo, knowing that if he disbanded his army he would be powerless to recover his stolen territory, or to resist further aggression upon his dominion, sternly refused to comply with Shepstone's command.

As it had been decided to force Cettywayo into war, additional charges, whether baseless or otherwise, were soon preferred against him. Every act of the chief, in the exercise of his sovereign power, was watched and reported to Sir Theophilus Shepstone. The execution of some natives, according to Zulu law was seized upon by the Commissioner

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to accuse Cettywayo of violating his coronation pledges. The king replied that he assumed no obligations to the British crown and that he would not be controlled in the discharge of his sovereign duties as king of Zululand. Shepstone was well aware that there was no foundation for the charge he made against Cettywayo in relation to what he designated as "coronation pledges." Some more plausible cause to make war upon him should be sought. This, unfortunately for the inoffensive king, was soon concocted.

The wife of a subordinate Zulu chief, named Sihayo, deserted him, and fled into Natal. A number of Kaffirs, under the leadership of Sihayo's sons, went in pursuit of her. She was captured and put to death according to Zulu law. The arrest of the woman, who was under British protection, on English territory, was regarded as a treasonable offense, for which Cettywayo should be made responsible. The young king had no knowledge of the episode, until a demand was made upon him for the surrender of those who had taken part in it. Cettywayo expressed his regret for the occurrence, but

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declared he could not give up the culprits until he had consulted with the chief men of his tribe. His hesitation to surrender the sons of Sihayo and their accomplices, caused Sir Bartle Frere to send an ultimatum to Cettywayo, ordering him to comply with the demand made upon him and to pay a heavy fine in cattle, as an indemnity for the insult offered to the British flag which protected the fugitive woman. Twenty days were granted for compliance with the despotic demand of the High Commissioner.

Through the advice of John Dunn, Cettywayo consented to surrender the boys and to pay the fine imposed upon him. The king, being unable to collect so many cattle as he was ordered to pay, within the brief time specified by Sir Bartle Frere, begged for an extension of the limit. The British officials, being determined to make war upon him, imperiously refused his request.

On January 11, 1879, Sir Bartle Frere issued a proclamation declaring that an invasion of Zululand would immediately take place. Within a brief time after the High Commissioner's announcement was

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A BOER SHELL IN A SOLDIER'S KITCHEN AT LADYSMITH.

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made, an expedition, under command of Lieutenant-General, the Hon. Francis Thesiger, invaded the kingdom of Cettywayo. A short but bloody war ensued. There were several fierce engagements between the hostile forces. The most determined and sanguinary battle of the campaign was fought at Isandula, on January 22, 1879. In that desperate struggle, Her Majesty's 24th regiment was decimated by the spears and assegais of the savage Zulus. Scarcely a man of the unfortunate corps escaped slaughter at the hands of Cettywayo's infuriated soldiers. In that wanton war against the Zulu king, the ex-Prince Imperial of France lost his life, fighting under the English flag. He was carrying, at the time, the famous sword of the first Napoleon, and it fell into the hands of Cettywayo. He, however, magnanimously surrendered it, when apprized of its worth as a relic of the great Bonaparte. Within six months, the Zulu country was overrun by the British. The spears and assegais of the savages were no match for the rifles and artillery of the English.

On July 4, 1879, the soldiers of Queen Victoria-

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captured Ulundi, the metropolis of Zululand, and gave to the flames the royal kraal of Cettywayo. The unfortunate king was then a fugitive, and without even the remnant of an army. Lieutenant-General Thesiger had no heart in the fight, as there was no just cause for it and no honor to be gained by it. Having brought the war to a successful termination, he resigned his command. His place was given to Sir Garnet Wolseley, who pursued the unfortunate Cettywayo, who was finally captured, and sent a prisoner to the Cape. The war against the Zulu king was wholly unjustifiable. The victory achieved over him was dearly paid for in British blood, but this awful cost was not all the British crown had to pay for a war that was wantonly provoked and which was morally inexcusable. The Zulu war weakened the strength of Great Britain in South Africa. Of this the vengeful Boers took advantage later on.

On March 24, 1880, Lord Beaconsfield, under whose government the Transvaal was annexed, dissolved parliament. The electoral campaign that ensued was one of the most memorable in British

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history. In this most exciting struggle, the tories were led by Lord Beaconsfield, and the liberals by the no less famous William Ewart Gladstone. It was a combat of intellectual giants, on whose rhetoric and logic depended the government of the mightiest empire in the world. The liberals made the character of British rule in South Africa the basis of a criminal indictment against the tories. It was in reality the leading issue in the great electoral campaign, and the one on which the nation was to pronounce its verdict. Mr. Gladstone, with all the vehemence of his transcendent oratory, denounced the suppression of the Boer independence, and the perfidious annexation of the Transvaal territory. The Zulu war he represented as the most wantonly provoked and criminal that ever cast a stain on the escutcheon of the empire. In one of his speeches he said:

"If such places as Cyprus and the Transvaal were as valuable as they are valueless, I would repudiate them, because they were obtained by means dishonorable to the character of our country."

In another of his great orations he said:

"The state of things which now prevails in Asia,

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where blood, we believe, is at this moment flowing, the state of things that has recently prevailed in South Africa and may soon be renewed, almost tempts me in addressing the present administration, to use the lines of Tennyson, which he puts into the mouth of his King Arthur, when he speaks to Queen Guinevere—

'The children born of these
Are sword and fire,
Red ruin and breaking-up of laws!"

Lord Hartington, during that famous campaign, was just as vehement as his great leader in denouncing the South African policy of the Beaconsfield government. In one of his speeches he said:

"It behooves us to concentrate our resources, and to limit instead of extending our empire. Her Majesty's speech refers to the war in South Africa, but ignores the chief cause of difficulty in that part of the world. The chief difficulty is the condition of the Transvaal, to which no reference has been made in Her Majesty's speech. I am not going, at this time, to state my opinion as to the policy which ought to be pursued there. If it be proved that it is for the advantage of the district and for the peace of the whole community of South Africa, that the Transvaal should continue to be ruled by us, by all means let that be so. But if on the other hand, we find it would be more advantageous and more honorable to restore the former government of that country, then I say that no false sense of dignity ought to stand in the way."

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The liberal papers, during the campaign of 1880, were no less emphatic than the great statesmen of their party, in denouncing the policy of the tories in relation to the Transvaal. The following is extracted from an article which appeared in the Pall Mall Gazette:

"Is the Transvaal to become a South African Ireland, always disaffected, always disturbed, always dominated by a foreign minority, who, while utterly out of sympathy with the bulk of the population, only hold their own by an odious and insolent appeal to the physical power behind them?"

The result of the parliamentary elections of 1880 was an unequivocal repudiation and condemnation of the South African policy of the Beaconsfield administration. The liberals were elected to power, by an unprecedented majority. Mr. Gladstone was sent for by the queen and entrusted with the formation of a cabinet. He went into office with a power such as no previous premier ever had behind him. The succes of the liberals on the Transvaal issue elated the Boers. They were inspired with a confidence that Mr. Gladstone would undo the wrongs of his predecessors, which he had so trenchantly denounced during the electoral campaign.

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CHAPTER XVI.

THE BOERS INDIGNANT AT GLADSTONE'S CONDUCT.

As soon as the liberals assumed power, Messrs Kruger and Joubert wrote to Mr. Gladstone, congratulating him on his great victory, and praying that he would restore to them the independence of which they had been despoiled. On June 8, 1880, the premier sent the following reply to their letter:

"We have to deal with a state of things which has existed for a considerable period, during which obligations have been contracted, especially, though not exclusively, towards the native population, which cannot be set aside. * * * Our judgment is, that the queen cannot be advised to relinquish her sovereignty over the Transvaal."

The determination of the liberals to retain the Transvaal was indicated in the queen's speech at the opening of the new parliament. The policy of justice to the plundered Boers, which was implied in the ante-election speeches of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, was to be ignored. The reply of the premier made it evident that his denunciations

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of the South African policy of the tories, were but delusive platitudes. * They had been indulged in by the liberals to arouse the generous impulses of the British masses, so that they would repudiate the action of the Beaconsfield government, and elect the liberals to power. The reply of Mr. Gladstone intensified, if possible, the anti-British sentiment of the Boers. They now determined to trust themselves alone to recover their plundered independence. Despairing of obtaining justice at the hands of English statesmen, they resolved to rely on physical power for the conquest of their lost freedom. There was no people who estimated liberty higher than did the Boers of South Africa. To purchase it, no price, however bloody it might be, could appall them. Their devotion to national independence was never surpassed, and only par-

* Mr. Sydney Brooks. one of the strongest advocates of the British policy, wrote recently in the "North American Review":

"The British have an uncomfortable feeling that in their clashes with the Transvaal, their reputation for fair dealing, which so long as it is deserved, is the backbone of the empire, has not been altogether maintained. They admire the old president's pluck and shrewdness and wish him well in his struggle, even when they have to condemn his method of carrying it on. They cannot find much in his policy that is defensible, except its object; and yet they feel that, were they in his place, they would have done much as he has done."

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alleled by the Slavs of Montenegro, the Greeks of Ionia, and the Celts of Ireland. The Boers of the Transvaal, having been revolted by Mr. Gladstone's refusal to carry out the conditions which his electoral speeches had given them the promise of, commenced forthwith to prepare for war. There was a spontaneous and universal determination to extirpate the British from the Transvaal, and reassert Boer independence as it had existed since the convention of Sand River. When Gladstone's refusal became known, numberless communications expressive of indignation, were received by the members of the suppressed government. The following is a translation of a letter received by Piet Joubert, from a Lydenburg farmer.

"Brother Joubert:—I have just heard that Gladstone has refused to give us back our stolen liberty. That is what I expected. The British never give back what they plunder. We have but one way to get our rights. It is better to fight and bleed like our fathers than be slaves to the English. I have traveled over a great part of the country since I heard of Gladstone's letter. Every farmer is ready to fight, to hunt the redcoats out of our colony. See Paul Kruger. Get him to help you in stirring up the people. The men of Lydenburg will be ready

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when called upon. I send this by a man you can depend on. Pieter Rienitz."

When the Zulu war was terminated, by the complete conquest of Cettywayo's dominion, and the capture of the unfortunate king, Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had been appointed to the civil and military command of South Africa, at once proceeded to the Transvaal, the government of which had been entrusted to Sir Owen Lanyon. When the territory was annexed by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, it was proclaimed that the people would be allowed a large share in the government of the colony. For three years these promises of Shepstone were never fulfilled. The Boers were ruled since the annexation by a military autocracy, which denied them a voice in their own affairs. Before the receipt of Mr. Gladstone's letter, the leaders of the people were employing every resource possible to obtain justice. They had been unwilling to countenance an appeal to physical force, while there was even a shadowy prospect of regaining independence by peaceable means.

A memorial had been addressed to Sir Bartle

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Frere, praying that he would advise the imperial government to restore the independence of the Transvaal. To that memorial the High Commissioner made no reply. Mr. Pretorius, who was chairman of the people's committee, wrote to Sir Garnet Wolseley, respecting the memorial, desiring to learn what disposition had been made of it. The reply of Sir Garnet was in the character of a bombastic proclamation, which was only calculated to insult and exasperate the patriotic and sensitive Boers.

This high official was a man of despotic instincts, and therefore unfitted to conduct with prudence and wisdom a case that was extremely delicate and dangerous. The power conferred upon him by the imperial government was unlimited in character. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach wrote a lengthy dispatch to Sir Garnet, empowering him "to act on his own individual judgment even though his decision was antagonistic to that of the council." That supreme power, which was vested in the governor, was exercised by him with a haughtiness that could only inflame the revolutionary passions of the people he

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was sent to rule. He availed himself of every opportunity that presented itself to manifest his contempt for the inhabitants of the Transvaal. His character is reflected very correctly in the following reply to the letter addressed to him by Mr. Pretorius:

"Whereas it is expedient that all grounds for uncertainty or misapprehension should be removed once and for all, beyond doubt or question. Now, therefore, I do hereby proclaim and make known, on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen, that it is the will and determination of Her Majesty's government, that the Transvaal territory shall be, and shall continue to be for ever, an integral part of Her Majesty's dominions in South Africa. And I do hereby, in the name of Her Majesty, charge and require all Her Majesty's subjects in this territory, or elsewhere, and all others whom it may concern, that they do act and govern themselves accordingly."

Sir Garnet Wolseley, as a distinguished soldier, relied rather on military power than on a system of conciliation for governing the disaffected Boers. He seemed to regard them as incapable of making any overt effort of a physical character, for a recovery of their independence. He was in the habit of using indelicate witticisms to express his faith in the stability and permanency of British power in the

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Transvaal. It is claimed that he said, when asked if his government would restore the independence of which the Boers had been deprived: "So long as the British lion shall wag his tail, so long shall the British flag fly over the Transvaal." He appeared incapable of concealing his instinctive dislike of the Boers. In addressing a deputation that waited upon him at Wak-Kerstrom, he said:

"I am glad of the opportunity of meeting you all this day. In the first place, and before saying anything further, you must clearly understand that the Transvaal is and will remain British territory. There is a certain faction in this country who set the law at defiance, but I assure you that those misguided ones and their instigators shall suffer for their lawless behavior. Her Majesty's government did not annex the Transvaal to extend her dominions. It was only done for your good. * * * I close with the same remark that I commenced with, and which I desire you to spread far and wide—That so long as the sun shines, the Transvaal will remain British territory."

Notwithstanding Sir Garnet Wolseley's confidence in the power of England to maintain her supremacy in the colony, he was becoming apprehensive of experiencing trouble in his efforts to suppress the constantly increasing discontent. On

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October 29, 1879, he wrote as follows to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach:

"I am compelled to recognize the continuance of grave discontent. I am informed on all sides that it is the intention of the Boers to fight for independence. * * * I am compelled to allow that the main body of the Dutch are disaffected as a rule."

The admission of Sir Garnet Wolseley that disaffection was extending in the colony, was at variance with reports he had previously made to the government, in which he represented the Boers as favorable to British rule, in the great majority. * There was no tangible ground for such an encouraging report, as before and after his arrival in the Transvaal, the people were resisting the civil authorities throughout the territory. Of that, the govment had been informed by Sir Owen Lanyon. Evidently Sir Garnet's report was inspired by an overweening confidence in his ability to stamp out the revolutionary sentiments of the Boers, and to constrain them to become reconciled to British rule. The governor desired the government to believe

* Some pretense of taking a popular vote had been attempted to ratify the seizure of the territory, but it failed miserably, although made much of by Sir Theophilus Shepstone and his following.

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that in appointing him supreme ruler of the Transvaal, he was the right man for the position. His first report was inspired by his characteristic vanity. The one quoted above, was based upon experience.

The Boer leaders having announced that a great meeting would be held on January 8, 1881, Sir Garnet Wolseley at once issued a proclamation forbidding the people to attend it. He stated that all who would take part in this demonstration would be guilty of disloyalty to the queen, and therefore subject to prosecution. He, however, had a misgiving that his proclamation would not exercise any intimidating influence upon the Boers, as they were every day becoming more defiant of British power. In an effort to overawe the people, he concentrated at Pretoria an extraordinary military force. But it was soon evident that the anti-English sentiment had become so bitter and the determination to fight for independence had grown so intense, that no power at the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley could intimidate the people. They would have uprisen for freedom during the Zulu war, but that

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they were too deficient in ammunition to make a protracted struggle for liberty. Powder could not be obtained without a permit from a magistrate. The merchants who sold it were almost all English. The Boers, being determined on making war, were diligently preparing for it. They were collecting as large a store of ammunition as the country could afford to them. "Powder jumping" became universal in the closing months of 1879, and all through the following year. Bodies of young men used to visit the stores where powder was for sale and ask for large quantities of it. As they had no permits to obtain it, the merchants invariably refused the required supply. To obtain it, there was no alternative but force. It was therefore employed, after the full value of it in money had been placed before the merchants, who did not show themselves otherwise displeased.

The meeting called for January 8, 1881, indicated an approaching conflict between the Boers and the British. The laws were openly violated by the former, and the power of the government to enforce them was set at defiance. The strain on the

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British exchequer, for the account of the government of the Transvaal, caused complaint to be made by the colonial secretary, who insisted that measures should be adopted to lessen it. The expense of governing the colony could only be lightened by an increase of local taxation, or by enforcing the payment of liabilities due to the Boer government at the time it was suppressed. Sir Owen Lanyon, on whom devolved the raising of revenue, undertook the employment of stringent measures to obtain such a settlement. His efforts met with general resistance, and tended to influence still more the revolutionary passions of the people. When they were brought before the courts for being delinquent in payment of overdue taxes, they inveighed against the tyranny to which they were subjected, and told the landdrosts that they were "being driven to desperation and forced to make resistance."

Hate begotten of oppression generally descends from sire to son. The wrongs of tyrants are never forgotten by the people on whom they were inflicted. The memory of them becomes a legacy that goes down to the latest generation. There is no

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recollection so enduring and sacred as that of him who suffered for the cause of a liberty-loving people. Soon ofter the occupation of Cape Colony by the British, a Boer named Bezhuidenot was cited before a magistrate on a charge of cruelty to a Hottentot. Hating the British, and determined to defy their power, he refused to make answer to the charge made against him. A military force was sent to arrest him. Anticipating their coming, he prepared to oppose resistance. He fired upon the soldiers, and succeeded in making his escape from them. He fled to a distant part of the colony, and for a long time harassed the soldiers, who were sent in pursuit of him. He was a man of invincible courage, who would not yield while he had strength to fire a musket. After long resisting the efforts made to capture him, he was finally surrounded and killed. His tragic death and gallant fight against English power was the cause of a conspiracy to subvert British rule in South Africa. Its existence was discovered. Six of the prominent members were arrested. They were tried on a charge of treason and publicly executed. Their death is held

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in sacred memory by the Dutch people of the African peninsula.

The son of Bezhuidenot, who thus lost his life at the hands of the British, was living near Potchefstrom. Sir Owen Lanyon had him sued for taxes. The sum levied upon him was nigh double the amount he owed to his own government at the time the Transvaal was annexed. Fourteen pounds was the amount of his liability to the republic. That amount he consented to pay, under the condition that it should be handed over to the Boer government on its re-assumption of power. The sum tendered by him, being little more than half the claim made upon him, the sheriff was ordered to seize a valuable wagon belonging to the man. Its public sale was to take place on a specified date in Potchefstrom. Early on the day the wagon was to be sold, a large body of armed Boers entered the town. When the hour fixed for the auction approached, they marched in military order to the public square. They quietly awaited the coming of the sheriff. On his arrival, he ascended to the wagon and proclaimed the conditions that would

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govern the sale. He had scarcely concluded speaking when he was seized and dragged from the wagon. He was roughly handled by the irate farmers, who bore the wagon triumphantly away. This was the first act of physical resistance to British authority since Shepstone's annexation act.

The example set by Bezhuidenot became contagious. The people regarded him as a hero. Because of the history that descended to him from his murdered father, he was made a special object for persecution by the British. He had been prosecuted for gunpowder found in his possession, without a license. A fine of twenty shillings was imposed upon him for the offense. When the judgment of the court was pronounced, the defiant Bezhuidenot shouted: "Never will I pay a penny fine for having what I hope to use to avenge the robbery of our independence." Forthwith Bezhuidenot was sent to jail for a week. When his imprisonment expired, he was met by hundreds of friends, who gave him a grand ovation, and presented to him a purse of twenty sovereigns.

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CHAPTER XVII.

DUTCH DEFIANCE.

The district of Potchefstrom, since the 11th of November, 1880, was aflame with revolutionary fire. That date became a memorable epoch, because of the defiance made to British authority, and the rescuing of Bezhuidenot's wagon from the hands of the Sheriff. Since that occurrence, Sir Owen Lanyon was powerless to enforce the payment of taxes. Piet Cronje and several other farmers in the district, dared Commandant Raaf to come and make a levy upon them. Sir Owen Lanyon sent a dispatch to Lord Kimberly, describing the audacious defiance of British authority that was being made by the Boers. He stated that extreme measures should be taken to enforce the laws and to maintain the queen's sovereignty over the Transvaal.

On November 16, 1880, a detachment of the 21st regiment, with two pieces of artillery, was ordered

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to Potchefstrom, under the command of Major Thornhill. On their arrival they were sent to Piet Cronje's farm, to enforce the payment of the levy which had been made upon him. When the soldiers who were accompanied by Commandant Raaf, reached Cronje's residence, they were confronted by a large body of armed Boers, determined to oppose a deadly resistance, should any attempt be made to enforce the levy. Cronje, with a loaded musket in his hand, walked up to Commandant Raaf, and dared him to carry out the orders he had received from Sir Owen Lanyon. Raaf was afraid to proceed further, as doing so would be attended by bloodshed. The Commandant's hesitation made the Boers more defiant. They derisively shouted: "Here we are ready for you to take us. We dare you to try it." The military expedition marched back to Potchefstrom, jeered at by the exultant Boers.

The news of the Cronje victory, spread with mysterious rapidity to every part of the Transvaal. As the story of it traveled, the grandeur of the triumph was magnified. Cronje's bravery was

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lauded by every tongue. British power was now utterly despised, as the soldiers were represented as having been afraid to face Cronje and his comrades. The scene of the triumph became the rallying point for all the young men of the district. A return of the military was confidently calculated on. Every skilful preparation was made to give the soldiers a hot reception, should Sir Owen Lanyon order the expedition to return to the farm, to protect the Commandant in the discharge of his duty. Cronje and his fellow patriots were determined to fight and die, before they would yield to British power.

Commandant Raaf relying for his personal safety more on the generosity of the Boers than on the guns and bayonets of the English soldiers, called alone on Cronje, some days later. He saw before him a far larger number of fighting men than were assembled on his previous visit with the military. Advancing towards Cronje, he besought him, in the blandest manner, to submit to the law. The heroic Boer replied:

"Commandant Raaf, neither I nor my comrades

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here, respect either British law or British officials. The English robbed us of our independence, when they knew we were too weak to fight them. We have been getting ready for three years to force the British thieves to give up their plunder. We are now able to meet our enemies. You see before you proof that we are determined to make the British to either give us back our rights which they have taken from us, or face us on the battlefield. The Lord of Heaven knows our cause is just, and He will be with us in the fight."

Commandant Raaf finding that Cronje was resolute in his purpose of defying British authority, asked him to afford him the opportunity of a friendly meeting some days later. Against the advice of his friends, Cronje consented to meet Raaf at Fendersdorp. Cronje's comrades fearing that treachery was intended, prepared to frustrate it. On the day that had been fixed for the meeting, the Commandant was startled by seeing assembled a small army of Boers, fully equipped for battle. He was arrested the moment he was seen, and led a prisoner before Cronje and Paul Kruger. The

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latter had hurried from his home in Rustenburg, when news reached him that the people of Potchefstrom, had thrown down the gage of battle to Great Britain. Mr. Kruger addressing Raaf said:

"I have come hastily here, to prevent bloodshed. For years I have endeavored to obtain from the British government, by peaceable means, a return of the independence which has been treacherously taken away from us, and which had been guaranteed to us, by the Sand River Convention. I and Mr. Jarrissen went to England, under the belief that when the queen's ministers would be informed of the infamous means by which we were robbed of our right to govern ourselves, they would restore to us our independence. That would be but an act of justice to which England was committed, if she had any regard for her honor as a nation. The hope that we had been indulging, that the queen's government would act justly toward us, was a delusion. Since our people learned the failure of our mission to England, they have felt compelled to depend upon themselves, to recover the independence of which they have been

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despoiled. I wish you to remember, Commandant Raaf, that the present effort is my last to preserve peace between the inhabitants of the Transvaal and those who represent the British government in South Africa. I have too long advised forbearance. You now see before you the result of the injustice done to us and our country, by that power you represent. It is a just and holy cause that brings together those hundreds of armed patriots, who have left their homes and families, to recover the freedom of their country. Your duty, Commandant Raaf, should be to advise Sir Owen Lanyon, to recommend his government to give back to us our plundered independence. Our liberty was taken from us by fraud, and force will fail to deny it to us forever."

Commandant Raaf seemed impressed by the observations of Mr. Kruger. They were spoken with an earnestness that implied he was determined to resort to the most extreme measures, for the recovery of colonial independence. The Commandant was racially allied with those who surrounded him and who had uprisen to resist the power he

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was then representing. As a servant of the Crown, he could not manifest sympathy with those of his race, in their determination to regain the freedom of which they had been deprived. Still he was doubly anxious that a conflict would be avoided, between the queen's forces and the farmers. In the hope of preventing or delaying it, he asked Piet Cronje to meet Secretary Hudson at Potchefstrom, and place before him the sentiments of the people in relation to self-government. Raaf, occupying a difficult position between the British government and the Boers, was desirous of shifting the responsibility which devolved upon him, to some other official of the Crown. Piet Cronje was unwilling to accede to Raaf's proposition, but through the persuasion of Paul Kruger, he consented to meet Secretary Hudson. Mr. Kruger was anxiously desirous to avoid the shedding of blood, and would only consent to war, when no other solution of the trouble was possible. He was therefore willing that Cronje and Hudson should meet, as it would afford him an opportunity to make a final appeal in the interest of peace.

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Mr. Kruger, though determined to wrest independence for his people, from the government of Great Britain, was hesitating greatly about recovering it through war. It was only after exhausting all other means to recover the plundered rights of his country, that he would feel justified in counseling an appeal to arms. Every act of the Boer Statesman, was ruled by a religiously-grounded conscience. He was as brave in the face of danger, as he was wise and prudent in council. Devoted as he was to Transvaal independence, he was unflinching in his resolution to constrain Great Britain to yield it. Paul Kruger is a patriot of the purest mould, and a statesman of the highest order. In honesty of purpose, devotion to duty, and heroic determination, he is the counterpart of "Old Hickory" the famous victor of New Orleans.

The interview between Piet Cronje and Secretary Hudson, was of the stormiest character. The latter expatiated upon the irresistible power of his government, and the criminality and futility of resisting it. Cronje on the other hand expressed his hate and contempt regarding British authority and

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English power. He told the secretary, that the great Boer meeting called for January 8, 1881, would be held a month earlier, in defiance of Wolseley's proclamation. Hudson became so angered by the words of Cronje, that Paul Kruger, fearing for his safety, caused him to withdraw.

The time for a revolutionary movement against Great Britain, was auspicious. The Zulu war had considerably weakened the military power of England in South Africa. This conflict though brief, had been disastrous to the English army. It lost thousands in killed and wounded, among whom were a large number of distinguished officers. The war with Cettywayo brought no honor to the Crown nor credit to the army. There were but two British regiments in the Transvaal and those were not quite full. The cavalry that had taken part in the Zulu war, had been ordered back to India, and a large portion of the infantry had been sent to suppress disturbances on the borders of Pondo.

While the revolutionary passions of the Boers were daily becoming more inflamed, there was a

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paper in Pietermaritzburg, whose editorials were calculated to intensify the ferment against English rule. The proprietor of the paper, was a brilliant Irishman named Aylward. Ten years previously, he had been identified with a movement in his native land, for the subversion of British rule. Its failure to realize Irish independence, caused Aylward to emigrate to South Africa. His hate of England underwent no moderating by exile from his country. Regarding the condition of the Transvaal under English power as identical with that of Ireland in the old world, he championed the Boer cause in his paper. The articles he wrote, were so virulently anti-British that he was soon prosecuted by the Natal authorities. Aylward's hostility to English power was fierce and defiant. Having an ungratified passion for vengeance against Great Britain, he was ambitious to see the Boers make successful war upon her. The prosecution to which he was subjected by the Natal government urged him to personally identify himself with the movement for Boer independence. But irrespective of

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it, he was anxious for an opportunity to strike at English power, because of his instinctive hostility to it.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FAIR COURIER.

The meeting that had been called for January 8, 1881, was held on December 8, 1880. The revolutionary leaders had determined to avail themselves of England's unpreparedness, to suppress a rising for independence. They hoped to be in a position by the close of the year, to strike a crushing blow at English power. Having abandoned all hopes of a peaceable arrangement of their contention with the British, they resolved that the Paarde Kraal meeting should be made the inauguration of a war for independence. Hundreds of Boers attended it, who had come from all parts of the Transvaal. They left their homes with a determination not to return to them, until English power would be utterly subverted in the colony. On the faces of those hundreds of patriotic men, an ominous resolution was expressed. It was a solemn pledge that victory or death would be the heroic motto

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of those Boer warriors when hostilities would be undertaken by them for the recovery of their freedom.

The Paarde Kraal meeting lasted from the 8th to the 16th of December. The most fiery and exciting address made during the progress of it, was delivered by the Irishman mentioned in the preceding chapter. Mr. Aylward said:

"Patriots of the Transvaal, as one who has tasted of British oppression, I appear amongst you at the request of my friend Mr. Kruger, who knows that you have my heart-felt sympathy, in your effort for freedom. I know that if you are in earnest about recovering your plundered independence, you will have to fight for it. Expect nothing, hope for nothing from British justice. Sir Owen Lanyon is now trying to delude you by promises he has no intention of keeping. He is trying to divert you from your gallant purpose, because he is impotent to combat the power which you now possess. He tries to pacify you by dishonest professions, while he musters the mercenary butchers of Britain, to slaughter you with their whetted swords and bristling bayonets. See how you have been treated by Gladstone, whom you regarded as being honest and honorable. By making the wrongs you suffered, the issue between him and the Beaconsfield pirates who robbed you of your independence, Gladstone became the first minister of the queen. After trafficking upon the infamy perpetrated upon you by his tory predecessors, he has given our friends Messrs. Kruger and Joubert, proof of his

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hypocrisy and treachery. He caused you and the electors of the British empire, to believe that if he were elevated to supreme power, he would make reparation for the plunder perpetrated upon you. Now, that he possesses the ability to prove the sincerity of his professions, by making restitution to you for the wanton robbery of your independence, he audaciously endorses the crimes of his predecessors, by telling you that he cannot advise the queen to surrender her sovereignty over you. Listen, patriots of the Transvaal, to what I am about to say to you. I speak with all the soulfullness of one born to a legacy of hate against the power of Great Britain. If you have resolved to regain your plundered liberties, you must strike down the English pirate. You will have to seize and throttle the hoary lion of England before he will disgorge anything he has devoured. England has massacred, plundered and desolated all over the globe, in the name of Christianity and civilization. She has an insatiable lust for gold. Her creed to obtain it is proclaimed by the sword. Her flag following in the track of the sun, is the emblem of slaughter, rapine and human misery. Gallant Dutchmen of the Transvaal, strike down that accursed symbol of your enslavement and degradation. Forget not that you are the descendants of glorious ancestors, who bequeathed to you a legacy of hate against Great Britain. Show to the world that you are the worthy sons of unconquerable sires. Let the valor of your hearts and the might of your arms, bear testimony to your devotion to liberty. Your foe is my foe. Your cause is my cause. Accept me as a brother who hungers for an opportunity to satisfy his passion for vengeance against the enemy of my race and the desolator

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of my country. Lead on, gallant men of the Transvaal, in the highway of freedom and glory. I am ready to march with you, fight with you, and if the God of Liberty demands it, give my life for the vindication of your independence and the defeat and humiliation of our common enemy, England."

Aylward's speech, into which was infused all the fiery passion of the speaker, could not fail to inflame the hearts of the patriotic Boers. At the close of it, he was accorded a most flattering ovation. Joubert and Kruger were the first to congratulate him on the ability and fervor of his address. The audience was unanimous in its determination to at once declare war against Great Britain. Paul Kruger, Piet Joubert and Mr. Pretorius were in favor of making a final effort to obtain a peaceful arrangement of the issue between their people and the English government. They proposed to send an ultimatum to Sir Garnet Wolseley demanding an immediate settlement of the dispute by a surrender to them of their independence as a self-governing people. The meeting was unwilling that further negotiations be undertaken, believing that both Sir Owen Lanyon

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and Sir Garnet Wolseley were opposed to the independence of the Transvaal. It yielded however to the recommendation of the three popular leaders. Paul Kruger was willing to go to a compromising length to avoid war. He would concede to Great Britain a nominal supremacy over the Transvaal, with the right of keeping a representative in Pretoria to protect English interests.

The last day of the Paarde Kraal meeting was the anniversary of the victory achieved by the Dutch, over the sanguinary Dingaan. It was unanimously decided that this same December 16, should be the date of the resurrection of Transvaal independence. The meeting adopted an ably written proclamation from which the following is extracted:

"We therefore make it known that on the 16th of December, 1880, the government of the Transvaal was re-established by the will of its people, who are everlastingly opposed to foreign rule in their state. We further make it known, that Mr. S. J. P. Kruger has been appointed vice-president of the government, and that Mr. J. P. Joubert and Mr. M. W. Pretorius, shall be associated with him, the three gentlemen so named, to be a triumvirate that shall govern the country. On this day the

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Volksraad commenced its sitting. * * * * We further declare the Transvaal territory in a state of siege and under martial law."

The proclamation was signed by the members of the triumvirate with four others, among them W. Edward Bok the secretary of the meeting. A copy of the proclamation and the conditions to which the Boers would consent for a final arrangement between them and the British government, was sent to Sir Garnet Wolseley, with a demand that he would at once forward it to the Secretary of State for the colonies. Sir Garnet on receipt of the proclamation flamed with anger and determined to arrest for treason all whose names were appended to the document. The first he selected for vengeance were Mr. Pretorius the chairman and Mr. Bok the secretary. He succeeded in having them both arrested. The Boers on learning of the imprisonment of their friends, immediately assembled to the number of several hundreds, determined to release them by force. They were, however, restrained from carrying out their resolution, by Piet Joubert and Paul Kruger, who advised peace until

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BOERS IN CAMP. DRYING MEAT IN THE SUN.

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the government would reply to the terms proposed to them in relation to Transvaal independence.

Sir Garnet became thoroughly alarmed when he saw that the passion for war was hourly becoming more virulent and general. He felt powerless to restrain the spread of disaffection, not having at hand a sufficient military force to vindicate the authority vested in him by the crown. Seeing that the arrest of Messrs. Pretorius and Bok, produced an effect contrary to what he had anticipated, he concluded to release them. If he had had the ability to assert at once the supremacy of the law, he would have made an example of Pretorius and Bok. But comparatively helpless as he was, he deemed it prudent to set them at liberty. Sir Garnet, though instinctively despotic and arbitrary, was obliged to restrain his imperious tendencies. For the first time since his advent to South Africa, he inclined to a policy of conciliation. But the hour had passed when it might have proven beneficial. The people, despairing of obtaining justice at the hands of the government, had now determined to wrest by force from Great Britain their sovereign

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independence. Undeniable necessity thus compelled Sir Garnet Wolseley to have recourse to a policy that was antagonistic to his despotic disposition. Being aware of the paramount influence of Mr. Pretorius with his fellow-countrymen, he considered it would be politic to make a friend of him, and thus detach him from his revolutionary colleagues. Thus to create division in the councils of the bellicose Boers, he tendered to Mr. Pretorius a place on the executive council which he had established for the government of the Transvaal; but the veteran patriot, justly suspicious of Sir Garnet's professed regard for him and intensely devoted to the cause of Boer independence, declined the offer made to him by the queen's special commissioner.

A manuscript copy of the proclamation adopted at the Paarde Kraal meeting, had been entrusted to an escort of armed Boers, who were to have it printed in Potchefstrom. There was at the time, in the town, a force of nearly two hundred British soldiers, at whom the defiant Boers jeered as they rode past them. Sir Owen Lanyon, having learned

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the mission of the Boers to Potchefstrom, threatened to prosecute the printer, should he execute the work required of him. The defiant patriots took full possession of the office, and compelled the printing of the proclamation. As they rode triumphantly through the town, with the copies of the warlike document just damp from the press, they defied Sir Owen Lanyon's forces to molest them. The military strength of the queen was at the time so insignificant in the colony, that the executive power of the crown could only be expressed in official proclamations, that were contemptuously disregarded by those to whom they were addressed.

Sir Owen Lanyon seeing that he was powerless to assert the authority of the queen, or to stem the revolutionary tide that was hourly rising, telegraphed to Sir George Colley, the civil and military governor of Natal, for reinforcements. Immediately on receipt of Sir Owen Lanyon's application for assistance, a detachment of the 94th regiment, under command of Colonel Anstruther, was ordered to Pretoria. Two large guns and a great supply

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of ammunition accompanied the military contingent sent to the aid of Sir Owen Lanyon. Colonel Anstruther was instructed to guard against surprises, while on the march to Pretoria. But being a fearless soldier and having a thorough confidence in the valor of his soldiers, he thought only of an opportunity of displaying the fighting qualities of himself and the men under his command. When told he was liable to be intercepted before reaching his destination, he replied, "I would be glad to meet the Dutch rebels. My gallant boys would quickly make them bite the dust."

Thus despising the danger of which he had been warned, the colonel rode proudly at the head of his command. Some few hundred paces ahead of his column was seen a grey charger with a rider who appeared to be a lady. The colonel applying the field glass which hung by his side discovered that the rider was a tall and handsome Dutch girl, who was urging her horse to top speed toward him. Seeing that it was a female, the colonel never imagined that she could be riding on an errand relating to himself or his men. Reaching the head

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of the column, the girl reined up her horse, and with a graceful motion of her whip, saluted the colonel. The men regarded her with the deepest interest, as her evident excitement magnified her beauty. Dropping her bridle rein on the neck of her steed, and changing the whip from her right hand to the left, she drew from her girdle a letter which she handed to the colonel, saying:

"Commandant, I have requested my friends to permit me to be the bearer of this letter, and they have instructed me to ask for an immediate reply."

The letter was an order from Commandant Joubert, addressed to the officer in command of the British force, not to pass beyond the stream that crossed his line of march, some distance ahead. He was told that a violation of the order would be regarded as a declaration of war. He was further ordered to halt his men before reaching the stream, and there to remain, until a reply from Sir Owen Lanyon would be received to the ultimatum addressed to him, after the meeting at Paarde Kraal. The band of the 94th was playing at the time "The British Grenadiers" and the colors of

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the regiment were proudly fluttering in the breeze. The colonel, after reading the letter, turned to the young girl and said:

"My answer is, that I have received orders which I will execute in the name of Her Majesty the Queen."

The young girl seemed deeply affected by the colonel's reply. It was evidently an answer she did not expect. After a few seconds' hesitation, during which the colonel gazed at her with amused interest, she said in pathetic tones:

"Commandant, I earnestly wish I could influence you to proceed no further. Although I am opposed to the government you represent in this country of ours, still I am unwilling to see shed, the blood of its innocent soldiers. Pause, I beseech you, before it be too late." The Colonel had halted the men while he was engaged with the young girl. As she wheeled her horse to ride back in the direction from which she came, the colonel gave to his soldiers the order to "march". The handsome young courier, after riding rapidly in advance of the troops, suddenly turned into the bush and disappeared from view.

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CHAPTER XIX.

A BLOODY ENCOUNTER.

Colonel Anstruther continued his march up to the point indicated in Commandant Joubert's letter. The main body of his force was at the head of a long train of wagons, drawn by oxen. The pace was comparatively slow, although the beasts were being urged to the quickest movement by the drivers. In the rear of the train, as well as on both sides of it, soldiers, with bayonets fixed. marched as a protecting guard. The moment the head of the column reached the stream referred to, a single shot was fired from an ambush on the right flank of the British line. It was a warning to Anstruther not to cross the stream. As the English commander was preparing to send a reconnaissance toward the point from which the shot had been fired, his column was swept from front to rear by a hurricane of lead. Instantly the road was covered with the dead and wounded, the Colonel himself falling from

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his horse, fatally hit in several parts of the body. Not a single officer under his command escaped from the Boer bullets. They had been specially selected for vengeance. The battle lasted but a moment, within which one hundred and twenty British soldiers and numbers of oxen lay dead or wounded on the causeway. The remainder of the force immediately surrendered.

Joubert having given orders to cease fire, the men under his command asked to be allowed to aid the wounded. The young girl, who a short time before, delivered the letter to the Colonel, was the first to rush to his assistance, when the firing ceased. She was deeply pained by his suffering and did everything possible to comfort him. Commandant Joubert, in the kindest manner, expressed his sympathy with the Colonel, and did his best to ease his last hours. The unfortunate officer survived the battle of Bronkhurst Spruit (for so it was called) but a very short time.

All negotiations toward a peaceable adjustment of the issue between the Boers and the British were now at an end. English blood having been

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shed, war alone could determine the political destiny of the Transvaal.

The news of the victory at Bronkhurst Spruit, and of the valuable stores of war munitions, commissariat and guns, which had been captured, elated greatly the spirits of the Boers from the Limpopo to the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Men flocked from all parts of the Transvaal to assist their brethren in the field. The women were no less daring than the men, in facing a war that promised to be bloody and protracted. They followed their fathers and brothers and lovers to the battlefield, to intensify their determination to uproot British power from the Transvaal, and reassert Boer independence. The patriotism of the Dutch-African women and their heroic devotion to the cause of independence were not surpassed by the patriotism and devotion of the men. The following is a translation of a letter, which was found at Laing's Nek, after the victory achieved there by the Boers. It reflects the patriotic ardor that inflamed the Dutch girls when the Paarde Kraal proclamation was issued. It was neatly written in Dutch and was supposed to have been ad-

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dressed to a young man on whom the writer bestowed her affection.

"Dear Franz:—I have just read the Paarde Kraal proclamation. I am proud to feel that our people have determined to show to the British that we are not cowards as they suppose us to be. I was glad to learn that you attended the meeting, and spoke so firmly to Paul Kruger. You were right in telling him that the English interpret our patience as the result of fear. Mr. Kruger is a good man, but he has been too long relying on memorials for getting back what England has treacherously taken from us. The British have no respect for beggars, such as we have made ourselves for years. It is time that a bold stand would be taken for the recovery of our independence. War I know is a terrible alternative, but we should welcome it, when it is our last hope to release ourselves from the rule of a government we detest. All the girls in our district are getting ready to go with our brave boys to the battlefield of freedom. Be sure, Franz, I will be among them. You need no word from me to fire your patriotic heart. May the great Father in heaven save you and our dear country from the British enemy."

The British officials at Pretoria were panic-stricken when they learned of the massacre that had taken place at Bronkhurst Spruit. They at once commenced putting the town in a position for defense. Notwithstanding the revolutionary determination expressed by the Paarde Kraal proclama-

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tion, neither Sir Garnet Wolseley nor Sir Owen Lanyon dreamed that the Boers would have dared to make an attack upon British troops. The blood that was shed at Bronkhurst Spruit startled the self-confident officials from their lethargy, and terrified them into the conviction that the Boers were determined that war—and nothing but war—should arbitrate between them and the crown of England. Sir George Colley was implored to send in haste to the Transvaal all the troops under his command, to stamp out the insurrection and avenge the death of Colonel Anstruther and his gallant soldiers. Paul Kruger, and those who were associated with him at the Paarde Kraal meeting, were marked for British vengeance.

The shortest route by which the troops of Sir George Colley could reach the Transvaal was through Laing's Nek, which is a gap or passage through the Draakenberg range, the chain of mountains that separates Natal from the Transvaal. The Boers anticipating that Sir George Colley would send his forces through this pass, occupied it with a strong body of men, all of whom were expert in

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using the rifle. It may be said here that the Dutch farmers of the Transvaal and Orange Free State are the best marksmen in the world. Their chief pastime is the pursuit of game, and they possess the faculty of gauging distances with almost unerring accuracy. The women of the Transvaal, as well as the men, are trained shooters.

The proximity of Laing's Nek to Newcastle, caused General Colley to apprehend that an attack would be made upon it. He therefore collected contingents from three regiments, with a powerful artillery to occupy the pass, Sir George himself taking command of the expedition. The Boers, not owning any very large guns, were at a great disadvantage compared with their opponents. That inferiority was, however, counterbalanced by the strength of their position and by the fact that they were fighting on the defensive. As soon as they occupied the pass, with incredible rapidity and ingenuity they constructed protective works against the destructive shells that the enemy would rain upon them.

On reaching Newcastle, Sir George Colley sent,

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under a flag of truce, an order to the Boer Commandant to at once vacate the pass and disband his troops. Piet Joubert, who commanded the Dutch farmers, replied to General Colley, that the position he occupied was Transvaal territory, and that superior force alone could compel him to abandon it. He dispatched forthwith to Paul Kruger the ultimatum he had received from the British commander. Heidelberg was then the seat of the triumvirate government. The celerity with which the message to Paul Kruger was delivered, and the reply to it received by Commandant Joubert, was in itself an extraordinary feat, since the country possessed neither railroads nor telegraphic communication. The answer made by the triumvirate government to General Colley, was an absolute refusal to vacate Laing's Nek until the queen's government would agree to the conditions which had been submitted to Sir Garnet Wolseley after the Paarde Kraal meeting. Sir George Colley was also informed that unless he gave an inviolable guarantee that the terms set forth in the ultimatum addressed to Sir Garnet Wolseley would be agreed to by the queen's

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representatives, war should adjudicate between the inhabitants of the Transvaal and the government of Great Britain.

The firmness which characterized this reply, caused the British commander to order without delay an advance on the Boer position, with the purpose of taking it by assault. On January 28, 1881, the artillery commenced shelling the pass, preparatory to attempting to capture it at the bayonet's point. For several hours the artillery bombarded the Nek in the expectation that the Boers would be dislodged or disorganized by the terrible shell fire. Sir George Colley had no means of discovering the enemy's strength, and he was utterly mistaken in his conception of Boer valor and tenacity. The British soldier has few superiors for courage, coolness and confidence in the face of danger. He has a peculiar military pride, which impels him to defy death rather than brook defeat. Led by officers who ever signalize themselves by unflinching valor on the battlefield, the men never fail to emulate them in the hour of trial. The British army, and every section of it, is as a machine, the motive pow-

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er of which is the military chiefs, from the highest down to the lowest grade. There are few of its officers who have risen from the ranks. They are in the vast majority the scions of aristocratic houses, who, by giving their services to the crown, shed additional lustre on the history of their families. Pride of birth and lineage stimulates the British officer to defy death on the battlefield, so that he may win glory for himself, or falling in the cause of his sovereign and his country, leave to his people a proud and imperishable legacy of heroism.

The artillery of Sir George Colley continued to hurl its deadly bombs, while the troops advanced in double column to the Nek. There was a gradual ascent of several hundred paces before it could be reached. The movement was so rapid that the men were almost breathless when the plateau on the east side of the pass was reached. The Boers remained silent and invisible, until the advancing columns came within less than three hundred paces of their position. Suddenly a hurricane of bullets battered the head of the columns, and checked their advance. In a moment all the officers, who gallant-

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ly led the charge, were either dead or lying disabled on the ground. The troops seemed panic-stricken by the murderous storm that suddenly burst upon them. They became confused by the loss of their commanders. They appeared not to know whether they should advance or retreat. The awful tornado from the Boer lines continued with unabated fury. The ground was literally covered with the dead and dying. Should the shattered columns press forward, it would be over the bodies of their fallen comrades. Without officers to lead them, the gallant fellows were becoming disheartened and disorganized.

Sir George Colley, seeing that before the enemy could be reached, every man of the storming columns would be killed or disabled, ordered a retreat. The instant the British commenced to withdraw, the Boers rushed from their ambush and poured volley after volley into them. The entire force would have been compelled to surrender but for the artillery, which checked the enemy's advance by incessant shelling. The havoc which occurred within a few minutes, was hardly ever surpassed in

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the annals of war. The contingent of the 58th regiment that took part in the attempted storming of the pass, was almost annihilated. Its Colonel, who was in chief command under General Colley, was killed. The 60th rifles and the 21st regiment suffered little less severely. The loss in killed and wounded was over three hundred. There was also a large loss in horses. Sir George Colley was deeply affected when addressing the thinned ranks of his gallant soldiers. He assumed the entire blame for their defeat, and heartily eulogized them for the courage and coolness they displayed under one of the severest ordeals to which troops were ever subjected.

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CHAPTER XX.

THE BATTLE OF MAJUBA HILL.

The British defeat at Laing's Nek shocked the people of Great Britain. It was regarded as the most humiliating incident in the military history of the empire. Had the soldiers of the queen been beaten by the regular troops of some great European power, the reverse would not have been half so keenly felt. But for them to have been cut up and forced to retreat by undisciplined farmers, was an unendurable disgrace. The Gladstone government was fiercely assailed by most of the liberal organs. They published extracts from the premier's campaign speeches, in which he denounced the tories for their inexcusable annexation of the Transvaal. The Prime Minister was mercilessly scored for not carrying out the policy indicated by his speeches, which implied the restoration of Boer independence. The bloodshed at Laing's Nek, and the national humiliation resulting from it, were charged against the

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Gladstone administration. Many of the papers justified the Boers in taking the field against the forces of the crown, for the recovery of their independence. Now, however, the liberal government felt that they could not surrender at once the legacy of injustice bequeathed to them by the tories. The administration considered that the defeat Her Majesty's troops suffered at Laing's Nek rendered impossible a restoration of Transvaal independence. It was regarded as indispensable to the prestige of the British army, that the Boers should be made to feel its invincibility before their claims would be considered by the ministers of the crown.

Mr Gladstone, who was, by nature and training, just and magnanimous, erred in the first instance, by declining to undo the wrong his predecessors had committed and which he so trenchantly condemned. He now felt committed to an aggravation of his error, in order to avenge the humiliation inflicted on the army and the empire. It has been told of him, that in the closing hours of his life, there was no official act of his that caused him so much exacerbation of soul as his denial of justice

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to the people of the Transvaal. The memory of it affected him the more keenly because in withholding independence from the Boers, he opposed the dictate of his own religiously trained conscience. When the ambition of the great statesman gave place to Christian reflection, he could not help accusing himself of being morally responsible for the British and Boer blood that was shed in the African peninsula, during his reign of imperial power.

The Laing's Nek victory greatly delighted and encouraged the Dutch all over South Africa. The Free State Boers became almost wild with exultation. They convened meetings and formed clubs all over the colony to aid their brethren of the Transvaal. To oust the British from South Africa became a suddenly created ambition with the Dutch people from the Cape to the Limpopo river. When the patriots of the Transvaal were about to stand up for independence, they had issued an appeal to the Boers of the Orange Free State, asking their aid in the effort they were compelled to make to free themselves from the yoke of England. The following is an extract from this document:

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"Fellow Countrymen:—We are all of the same flesh and blood. We serve one and the same cause. We all strive for freedom and the free exercise of our religion. If we fail in our effort to recover our independence, you shall be in imminent danger of losing yours. Our freedom is your freedom. We now come to you, regarding you as our brethren, to ask for your assistance in our hour of trial. That aid we will receive with grateful hearts. We do not ask for monetary help. Your valiant hearts and strong arms are all we require to drive the usurper from our country."

A generous response to the appeal would have been promptly made, but for Mr. Brand, the president of the Orange Free State. He believed that England was invincible and was therefore in dread of her power. He consequently opposed an organized movement on the part of his people, in aid of their Transvaal brethren. Mr. Brand was, however, using his influence with Sir Bartle Frere for a suspension of hostilities and an amicable settlement of the issue between the farmers of the Transvaal and the government of Great Britain. Agonized and humiliated by the defeat at Laing's Nek, neither the ministers of the crown, nor the authorities at the Cape, would listen to a peace proposition, until the rebellious Boers would be made to

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feel the chastising power of England. It was determined that the war should proceed, until the prestige of the army would have been thoroughly vindicated, and the queen's sovereignty over the Transvaal asserted by the unconquerable valor of her soldiers. President Brand's efforts for peace utterly failed.

The British were not more opposed to a cessation of hostilities than were the Boers. The latter had been forced to fight for the independence which years of diplomacy had failed to gain for them. Elated by their victory, they resolved to remain in the field, until they would compel England to withdraw her flag from the Transvaal and surrender to them the independence of which they had been robbed. The battle of Laing's Nek so weakened and disorganized the British force, that a temporary cessation of hostilities became a necessity with Sir George Colley. He had lost several of his ablest officers, among whom was Colonel Deane of the 58th, who was next in command under him. For a month after the battle of Laing's Nek, there was no renewal of the fight, though each of the belligerents

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occupied its original position. During that time, General Colley endeavored to discover the Boer strength on the west side of the pass. His purpose was to attack the enemy in the rear, as he had been painfully convinced that it could not be successfully assailed in front. He had made several reconnaissances in the hope of drawing the Boers from their impregnable position. Commandant Joubert, having no artillery, determined to remain inactive until the British would again attack him.

General Colley had so familiarized himself with the topography of the country on both sides of the Draakenberg mountains, that he felt assured the Boer laager could be successfully assaulted from one of the lofty peaks that overlooked it. Therefore, on the night of Saturday, February 21, 1881, he moved his full force along the base of the mountains, until he reached the point where he would commence to ascend the peak, from the summit of which he intended to attack the enemy. There was no light but that of the stars twinkling in the heavens. To reach the top of the rugged mountain strained the courage and energy of that band of

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gallant warriors. The British commander had projected a herculean task for himself and his men. But Sir George Colley set an inspiring example to his soldiers by sharing in the trying hardships of that midnight expedition. He had undertaken an enterprise that he hoped would throw into oblivion the defeat of Laing's Nek, and shed unfading glory on the arms of England.

Long before the sun rose above the horizon, Sir George Colley and his valiant soldiers reached the summit of Majuba Hill, where he silently prepared to attack the Boer laager. They had moved so noiselessly that they were not observed by the enemy's outposts. Indeed, Commandant Joubert could not have dreamed that a maneuvre so difficult and positively perilous, would have been attempted by any general who was educated in the science of war. But with the British commander it was a forlorn hope, which, if successful, would redeem his military reputation, seriously compromised by the defeat he had suffered at the hands of undisciplined farmers. Sir George Colley, in selecting Majuba Hill as an advantageous position

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for his troops, grossly erred in regarding it as impregnable. He had persuaded himself that no force that could be brought against him would be able to overpower the trained and gallant soldiers under his command. He thus underestimated the valor of the enemy he was about to attack. He thought the Boers could only fight from a well-protected ambush, such as the Nek afforded to them, when assailed in front, and would fly before his troops when compelled to battle in the open field. When setting out from his camp, he brought with him two large guns, with which he intended to shell the enemy's position. Those, he was obliged to abandon, because of the insurmountable difficulty of dragging them to the summit of the rugged peak. Indeed it taxed the strength of his soldiers to the fullest degree to reach the lofty elevation, encumbered as they were by their heavy equipments, and many of them had fallen behind exhausted.

Sir George Colley and his men exulted in anticipated triumph, as they viewed from their giddy height the Boer laager which lay in silence at their feet. The tread of no sentinel was heard, as he

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paced his solitary post. A few lights, gloomily burning in the tents, revealed the area of the enemy's camp. The warrior farmers had not yet awaked from their slumbers. They were soon to receive a dread surprise from a foe that was but awaiting the coming of morn to rain upon them a decimating hurricane of lead. Every strategic position had been explained to the officers in command, and every precaution adopted against a possible surprise. Nothing was neglected, in the opinion of General Colley, that was calculated to render victory certain. The summit of Majuba Hill was a plateau, in the centre of which was a large basin-shaped hollow. That was assigned to the surgeons of the expedition, should their services be needed. No commander, or army, ever entered upon an engagement with more assurance of victory than did Sir George Colley and his gallant troops. The men had been ordered to lie flat on the ground, until the signal for battle would be given. The general was anxiously looking for a rift in the curtain of night, that would announce the coming of the sun. The men, as they lay upon the ground,

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BRITISH CAVALRY DRIVING BACK A BOER OUTPOST.

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drew from their haversacks such refreshments as they had brought with them from the camp, and indulged in an early morning meal. Ere a streak of light was visible on the horizon, the solemn silence was broken by the sharp note of a rifle from the border of the laager. Instantly there was excitement in the Boer camp. A wary sentinel had spied the enemy and gave warning to his comrades. His bullet struck a rock behind which some soldiers had taken shelter. The time had not yet arrived for the British to commence hostilities. The shot fired by the sentinel was intended to arouse the slumbering camp, and let the enemy understand that they had been discovered. Day had but broken when every Boer was ready for battle. They were hastily forming to repel an expected attack. Suddenly six hundred British rifles rang out in awful chorus from the summit of Majuba. The storm of leaden hail was ineffectual, as the distance had been inaccurately gauged. The weapons of the British soldiers were all imperfectly sighted. Not so were those of the Boers. Every shot fired by them, seemed to hit its mark. Men were dropping fast on the crest

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of Majuba. The surgeons were kept busy, amputating limbs and dressing wounds. The ground all over was strewn with the dead and wounded. Every standing soldier was a target for the unerring bullets of the enemy. Sir George Colley, seeing his men falling fast around him, ordered them to fight under shelter. That they could not do effectively, as the enemy was far down in the valley at their feet. No soldier could expose his head without having it hit by a Boer bullet. Sir George Colley was becoming discouraged at seeing his men unable to make a successful fight, because of their position. The British general had now discovered the fatal mistake he made in selecting the hill as a tactical point to overpower his enemy. The killing and wounding in that memorable fight was all on one side.

Two hours had scarcely passed, when a panic seized the British troops. The wily Boers had scattered, and all unnoticed were scaling three sides of the giant hill. A large body of them, led by Aylward, had reached within a couple of hundred paces of the plateau before they were seen. The

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British soldiers became so frightened that they disregarded all semblance of discipline. In a fearful panic, they rushed in the opposite direction to that from which the Boers were advancing. They raced madly through the hollow, where the surgeons, with bloody hands and arms, were attending to the wounded. By a supreme effort, the brave Colley succeeded in effecting a formation, to resist the enemy, now within forty paces of the crest. An order was given to fix bayonets and charge. But, as the soldiers reached the brow of the hill, numbers of them were shot. The remainder, becoming terror-stricken, fled in every direction, to escape from certain death. The British force had been decimated. The survivors were flying in dismay and falling, as they fled, under the deadly bullets of the enemy.

The battle was ended. The gallant Sir George Colley, who was cool and courageous to the last, lay dead on the spot where he stood when the battle commenced. Beside him lay the Honorable Cornwallis Maude, the only son of Viscount Hawarden, of Dundrum, in the County Tipperary. The young nobleman had been a captain in the Grenadier

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Guards. Desiring to see fighting under Sir George Colley, he had himself attached to the 58th regiment, and had been in South Africa but a few days before the battle of Majuba Hill, that was to cut his brilliant youth in its flower.

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CHAPTER XXI.

TRANSVAAL INDEPENDENCE ACKNOWLEDGED.

The Boers could have massacred every British soldier that stood on Majuba Hill. But they were humane and magnanimous. Having beaten an enemy who far outnumbered them, they resolved to enhance their victory by a display of generosity hardly ever surpassed in warfare. They treated the wounded British with womanly tenderness, and their prisoners, with kindly consideration. Like generous victors, they manifested no hostile feeling toward those who were compelled to fight against them. The Boers during the battle, lost but one killed and seven wounded. The British loss was six officers killed, nine officers wounded, and six officers captured. The loss among the rank and file was eighty-six killed, one hundred and twenty-five wounded, and fifty-three prisoners. There is scarcely a parallel in the history of war, for the loss of life and bloodshed, (in proportion to the number

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of combatants) that signalized the British defeat on Majuba Hill. The expedition undertaken by Sir George Colley, on the night of February 26, 1881, was the conception of a proud commander, whose mind was unbalanced by his first humiliating defeat at Laing's Nek.

Without artillery, General Colley had no chance of securing victory over such a subtle and valiant foe, as he undertook to encounter. He entirely overlooked the danger to which he had exposed his men. They were liable to be surrounded without a single avenue of escape, in which position they were certain to be decimated or captured. He was wholly ignorant of the fighting qualities of his enemy, and relied solely on the bravery and bayonets of his soldiers, under conditions that were adverse to the effective employment of either. The occupation of Majuba Hill, was a military blunder that entailed a disaster which simple calculation would have prevented. The design of General Colley was worthy of a brave soldier. The execution of it could only be regarded as the result of military incapacity which foreshadowed, and could only

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end in, a tragical fiasco. It was the ultima ratio of a proud soldier to recover lost prestige. Sir George Colley, like the true soldier he was, fell nobly in the midst of his soldiers, encouraging them to the last moment of his life. The Boers on finding his body, paid it marked respect. They buried it beneath the spot from which the gallant general gave his orders, during the battle, and on which he had fallen. Beside him was placed as his companion in death, young Maude of the 58th.

The British defeat at Majuba Hill, was a crushing blow to the heart of England. It caused throughout the empire, a sentiment of humiliation such as had never before been experienced. A wild clamor for revenge arose in every part of the nation. Even those who condemned both the tory and liberal governments for their treatment of the Boers, were vociferous in demanding the exercise of British vengeance on those who inflicted such disgrace upon the army of England. Mr. Gladstone who had, when out of power, expressed sympathy with the people of the Transvaal, would, under the pressure which was brought to bear

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upon him, be compelled to employ all the power at his command to chastise the African Dutch. The military clubs of London, demanded that British wrath should swiftly fall on the rebellious Boers. Mr. Gladstone who had ever been regarded as the champion of the oppressed, was now being forced to become the oppressor of a people whose cause commanded his moral sympathy. But notwithstanding that he secretly conceded justification to the Boers in their uprising for the recovery of their independence, he felt that he must vindicate the supremacy of the crown and the prestige of the British army. It was a terrible ordeal through which the humane premier was forced to pass. Christian duty dictated to him that he should placate the Boers. Imperial pride demanded that they should be crushed. In that trying moment he needed the noble counsel of John Bright to keep him in the path of rectitude from which he was about to swerve.

Finally, yielding to what he regarded as imperial expediency, Gladstone ordered large reinforcements to South Africa, to cause more blood to flow.

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He admitted to an old friend who enjoyed his confidence since both were fellow-students at Oxford, that he regarded the withdrawing of independence from the Boers, as the gravest error of his life. "Statesmanship," said he, "too often strains the moral conscience. I now regret that when I attained power in 1880, I did not advise the restoration of independence to the inhabitants of the Transvaal. The taking of it from them in the first instance, was an unexcusable abrogation of a treaty to which the empire was committed. National honor should never be compromised by imperial expediency. The stability of a throne is rendered more secure by the upholding of justice than by the display of physical power however great."

The death of Sir George Colley, caused the government to appoint Sir Evelyn Wood, to the chief command of the forces in South Africa. The repeated victories of the Boers, caused universal rejoicing among the Dutch people in the several colonies of the peninsula. A general uprising of them against the British was apprehended by General

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Wood. In order to prevent it, he established garrisons on the northeastern border of the Orange Free State. Five thousand soldiers with a corresponding force of artillery were distributed between Ladysmith, Colenso, Estcourt and Biggersberg. It was feared that the victorious Boers, whose strength was daily increasing, would penetrate into Natal. President Brand was making persevering efforts for an armistice, which the authorities were not unwilling to agree to, although pretending a determination to prosecute the war to a triumphant conclusion.

The Cape officials had become alarmed by the prospect of a general rising of the Dutch throughout South Africa. They, therefore, recommended the Home government to favorably consider the peace proposals of President Brand. It was represented to Lord Kimberley who was Secretary of State for the Colonies, that a general insurrection of the Dutch was imminent. Should such a contingency arise, the force under Sir Evelyn Wood, could not be expected to cope with it. Lord Kimberley, like Mr. Gladstone, would be gratified to

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have an excuse to terminate the war without incurring the censure of the nation which had been invoking vengeance on the Boers, for the humiliation they had inflicted on the empire. The likelihood of a Dutch uprising was therefore made use of by the imperial administration, to justify a suspension of hostilities, with a view of terminating the war, on the basis of granting qualified independence to the inhabitants of the Transvaal. An armistice was therefore arranged between General Sir Evelyn Wood and Commandant Joubert; it was to last from March 6, to midnight of March 14. A final and satisfactory arrangement was not expected, as the tory organs of England, were insisting that the stain which the defeats at Laing's Nek and Majuba cast on the imperial escutcheon, could be wiped out only by torrents of Boer blood. The London "Times" said, "The resistance of the Boers must be overcome and the insurrection must be put down at whatever cost."

During the eight days of armistice agreed upon, no arrangement was effected, as Paul Kruger had not arrived to the front, and without him, no

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definite conditions could be decided on. An extension of the suspension of hostilities for four days longer, was agreed upon between the opposing commanders. Sir Evelyn Wood by his affable manner and fair-minded disposition had won the respect of the Boers. He was the only one of the British military or civil officials the Transvaal Dutch favorably regarded. He was urbane, just and honorable, while discharging a delicate and responsible duty. A disagreement as to the terms of the treaty which was being negotiated, caused a further extension of the armistice to March 23.

The Boer representatives were steadfast in demanding a return to them of the unqualified independence which they possessed by virtue of the Sand River Convention. Sir Evelyn Wood under the instructions he had received from Lord Kimberly, could not consent to the Boer demand. Mr. Gladstone and his cabinet felt that the queen's sovereignty over the Transvaal, could not be surrendered unreservedly without aggravating the hostile sentiment caused in Great Britain by the two defeats of the British troops. The most that

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the government could concede, without incurring national reprobation, would be qualified independence, such as self-government under the sovereignty of the crown would imply. On March 23, 1881, a final settlement was reached, although it was not of a character to satisfy the Boers. Before they were compelled to appeal to war, they would have gladly accepted the conditions to which the government of Great Britain would only after its crushing defeat consent. Now that they had fought for their rights, and beaten the troops of the queen, they felt that it was their prerogative as well as within their power, to dictate the terms of a peace treaty. On the other hand, Paul Kruger as an expert statesman, realized and generously regarded the delicate position in which the Gladstone government was placed. He therefore accepted an arrangement that he knew would be repugnant to the instincts and aspirations of the Boers. Commandant Joubert was unwilling to consent to any agreement that fell short of absolute independence of Great Britain. He felt that the men under his command, would not be willing to lay down their

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arms under any other condition. Still as Paul Kruger was in supreme authority as head of the triumvirate government, he felt it to be his duty to conform to his views and recommendations. The moderate ante-bellum conditions which were submitted by the Boers to Sir Garnet Wolseley, and were, then, haughtily rejected by him, were those insisted on now by Sir Evelyn Wood.

The Boer representatives were convinced that their acceptance would prove but a temporary arrangement of the trouble between them and the English government. However, to terminate the war and prevent a further flow of blood, Paul Kruger and his colleagues consented to terms which were calculated to cause diplomatic contention, if not actual hostilities, in a not distant future. The Boer representatives knowing the dissatisfaction which would result from a knowledge of the conditions agreed upon, determined to keep them secret, until Commandant Joubert's force would have been disbanded.

The terms which were embodied in the treaty of March 23, 1881,—known as the Pretoria Conven-

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BRITISH SOLDIERS FIGHTING BOER-FASHION.

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tion—were the exercise of a suzerainty by England, over the foreign relations of the South African republic; the establishment of a British residency in Pretoria for the protection of English interests in the Transvaal; the settlement of claims arising out of the war to be left to a commission appointed by the crown. Sir Evelyn Wood on part of the queen, acknowledged the right of the Boers to self-government, but subject to the suzerainty of the Crown as stated above. It was further contracted that the government of the queen would, at the expiration of six months from the date of the treaty, yield self-governing power to the people of the Transvaal. The signatories to the convention were Sir Evelyn Wood, Major Clarke and Major Frazer on the part of Great Britain and Messrs. Kruger, Joubert and Pretorius on the part of the Boers.

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CHAPTER XXII.

A TREACHEROUS PLOT.

It was foreseen that the conditions on which the treaty of 1881, was based were not satisfactory to either of the high contracting parties. The Boers were galled by the suzerain powers which England exercised over them. It was torturing to their national spirit to feel that they were subject to a supremacy against which their fathers revolted, and to escape from which, they faced the spears and assegais of savage warriors. A sentiment prevailed throughout the Transvaal, that Paul Kruger and his colleagues compromised the Boer cause, by the conditions they had entered into with the government of England. It was regarded by the people as an evidence of their servitude to see a British resident at their seat of government, and the English flag flying as if in triumph over them. The suzerainty might be dangerous to the perpetuity of their liberties, but it was not such an overt evi-

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dence of their dependence as were the British resident and the British flag. The bitter sentiment born of the treaty, grew and spread, until some determined action had to be taken to allay it. No section of the Dutch people, felt more acutely the ignominy of English supremacy as the women did. Their national pride surpassed, if possible, that of the men. Many of them had been educated in Europe, where they were taunted with having, through the weakness of their leading men, submitted to British control, at a time when they were in a position to dictate to England. One of those educated Dutch girls, in an interview with Paul Kruger, said:

"Mr. President you profess to be a Dutch patriot, but you have chosen to be a British slave."

"I cannot regard your opinion as complimentary, young lady," replied Mr. Kruger.

"Indeed, Mr. President, I would rather be truthful than unwarrantably complimentary, while speaking to one in your exalted position. When the guardianship of our national rights and the assertion of our dignity as a patriotic people, were

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placed in your hands, you allowed both to be compromised, thus entailing upon us and our country, a lasting and galling humiliation. When you signed that abominable treaty, you ignored the invincible valor and devoted patriotism of your gallant countrymen, who were then at Laing's Nek. They, as you know, Mr. President, were ready to die for the independence which you timidly surrendered. I tell you, Mr. Kruger, and I speak the sentiment of my sex throughout the Transvaal, that we, Dutch women, will never be content until every semblance of British power be swept from our country."

Mr. Kruger, who had succeeded the Triumvirate as the man at the helm, felt, no less than his people, the humiliation which was implied by the convention of 1881. He therefore resolved to negotiate with the liberal government, for a new treaty, which would guarantee the unqualified freedom of the South African republic. In 1883, Mr. Kruger wrote to Lord Kimberley, describing to him the universal discontent that had grown out of the treaty of 1881, and which was continually increasing. He stated to the secretary of the colonies,

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that he and his colleagues would not have consented to the conditions embodied in the treaty, had they not been over anxious to prevent the further flow of British and Boer blood. Another consideration that actuated him and his friends to agree to a suzerainty by England, was a desire to disembarrass the government of Mr. Gladstone, at a time the national sentiment of Great Britain was in favor of a continuance of the war. Mr. Kruger stated to Lord Kimberley, that insomuch as his countrymen were constrained to resort to force to recover the independence of which they had been deprived by the government of Lord Beaconsfield, in defiance of a treaty which guaranteed it, the honor of the British Crown could only be vindicated by its restoration. He further represented to the Secretary of State for the Colony that as the convention of 1881, was the result of arbitrary conditions, it was wanting in moral truly binding force. He also contended that if the treaty would not be withdrawn, and a convention identical with that of 1852, substituted for it, a renewal of trouble between the South African republic and the

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empire of Great Britain, would become inevitable.

At the time President Kruger was negotiating for the annulment of the treaty of 1881, and the substitution for it of one similar to that which the tory government had abrogated, the people of England were not indisposed to have the Boer claims favorably considered by the government. The excitement which had followed the defeats at Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill, had wholly disappeared. The mind of the nation was again in its normal condition and capable of understanding the heroic course which the Boers were compelled to adopt for the recovery of their plundered independence. In 1884, no imperial necessity or political expediency operated on Mr. Gladstone, to prevent his compliance with the dictates of moral duty. He had condemned the annexation of the Transvaal, as an outrage upon justice and national honor; and as the war which the Boers had been constrained to engage in, did not mitigate the crime of his official predecessors, he felt it became the duty of the empire to rectify the wrong inflicted upon the people of the Transvaal.

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Mr. Gladstone in 1884, was free to gratify the noble impulses of his nature. He therefore concluded to set aside the treaty of 1881, which should not have been forced upon the people of the Transvaal, since the Sand River Convention which guaranteed their independence, had not been violated by them. The premier therefore entered into a new treaty with the government of the South African republic, which restored to the Boers all the rights and prerogatives which the convention of 1852, assured to them; this treaty is known as the London Convention.

Notwithstanding that the faith of the British empire was committed to this new covenant, Paul Kruger never had confidence that the obligations it imposed on the Crown and government of England would be honorably respected, should the tories return to power. He therefore determined to prepare for such a contingency, by silently accumulating stores of war material, and securing the service of the ablest military men that Europe could afford.

The discovery of gold in Johannesburg, in 1886,

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augured fresh trouble for the government of the South African republic. Prospectors and fortune seekers rushed in large numbers to the Transvaal, the majority of whom were English subjects. The Boer government had foreseen that if the immigrants were admitted to an equality with the Dutch inhabitants of the state, the very existence of the republic would be endangered. * Laws were therefore passed of a protective character, which denied the franchise to foreigners, until they would become qualified to possess it, by a twelve years' residence in the country. Other laws of an exceptional character applicable to "uitlanders" or strangers, were deemed indispensable to the safety of the state. Those who were not legalized citizens, were subject to special taxation. That protective legislation was regarded as a necessity by the Boer government to guard the republic against British intrigue tending to possible extinction. The Dutch inhabitants

* "Diggers," said an Australian premier, speaking of the gold miners of Coolgardie clamoring for citizenship, "Diggers have no country." Nor is it to our knowledge that the Canadian government is in any great hurry to grant the franchise to that motly crowd that fills the shanties of Dawson City and the other settlements in the Klondike region.

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of the Transvaal, were long aware that gold was plentiful in the state; however, the knowledge of its existence was confined to the Boers themselves. They knew that if the secret was ventilated, their country would be invaded by adventurers who would disturb the peacefulness in which they desired to live and cause both internal and external irritation.

When gold was found to exist, practically without limit, great syndicates were formed to control it. The majority of the stockholders were Englishmen, the chief of whom was Cecil Rhodes, of Kimberley diamond mines celebrity. His name had been given to the large territory which bounds the Transvaâl, on the north, and which is now geographically known as Rhodesia.

Cecil Rhodes, one of the chief fomentors of the present trouble in South Africa is signally ambitious and unscrupulous. His wealth is boundless and his cupidity insatiable. Finding that the gold fields of the Transvaal were comparatively unlimited, he desired to have their control taken out of the hands of the Boers. He and others

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equally as lustful of wealth as himself, regarded the farmers of the state, as unworthy of the rich treasures that lay beneath the feet of their flocks and herds. This band of conspirators, therefore plotted to create an embroilment between the government of the Transvaal and that of Great Britain, so that the latter would have an excuse to invade the territory and annex it to the South African dominion of the Crown. *

There are serious reasons to believe that the nefarious design of the conspirators, was

* The appearance of the present day Uitlander—that is to say the grievance-bearing or grievance-seeking stranger—dates from the period when experts satisfied themselves as to the enormous quantity of the precious metal to be found in Witwatersrand, a locality more usually known now as The Rand. During this period an enormous influx of emigrants into the Republic almost doubled the population. The city of Johannesburg slowly became the Uitlander town par excellence. It deserves to be recorded that, in proportion of the growth of the gold output, the Uitlander question grew in magnitude. As the reader well knows, in every country where foreigners are to be found in large numbers there is an Uitlander question. It exists in France in regard to the Italians and Belgians living there; in London in regard to the Poles; in Japan in regard to the Americans and Britishers; in the Middle Ages the Jews were in many cases a powerful Uitlander element. During the present century, the Germans in Russia have been Uitlanders and they are considered as such in the Bohemia and Hungaria of to-day. The only difference in this case is that the Uitlander question in the South African republic has been made the cause of an international dispute between two states of unequal strength.

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known to Joseph Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Sir Alfred Milner the governor of Cape Colony. Indeed both of these high officials of the Crown, are thought—on fairly convincing evidence—to have been abettors of the plot to destroy the South African republic, and to rob the inoffensive Boers of their national independence and their country.

The so-called reform Committee of the Uitlanders in Johannesburg had finally determined to act. The wealthy foreign firms gave their adhesion. The fact is that Mr. Alfred Beit, of the firm of Wernher, Beit & Co., London, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes, managing director of the Consolidated Gold-Fields, may be regarded as the chiefs to whom the ultimate decision as to whether it was necessary from the capitalistic point of view to resort to extreme measures was necessarily left. Each of these gentlemen controls in person and through his business associates many millions of money invested in the Transvaal.

Arms and ammunition were purchased, and arrangements were made for smuggling them into

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the country concealed in machinery or gold-mining appliances. Two leading Uitlanders went to Cape Town to make final arrangements with Mr. Cecil Rhodes, at the time prime minister of Cape Colony. He agreed to keep his right-hand man, Dr. Jameson on the frontier as long as it was necessary as a moral support, and also to go to the aid of the plotters if they found themselves in a tight place. The emissaries reported that Mr. Cecil Rhodes, when asked how he hoped to recoup himself for his share of the expense in keeping Jameson's force on the border, replied that, seeing the extent of his interests in the country, he would be amply repaid by the improvement in the conditions which it was intended to effect.

The arrangements with Dr. Jameson were made with him in person. During the month of September he visited Johannesburg, and it was then agreed that he should maintain a force of some 1,500 mounted men fully equipped, a number of Maxims, and some field artillery; that he was, in addition to this, to have with him 1,500 spare rifles and a quantity of spare ammunition; and that about 5,000

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rifles, three Maxim guns and 1,000,000 rounds of ammunition were to be smuggled into Johannesburg.

Nor was this all, for in the original plan, it was intended to seize the fort and magazines at Pretoria.

The raid failed because Dr. Jameson started too soon. The Johannesburg committee were not ready. The necessary amount of arms had not yet been smuggled into the city. Every effort was made to stop Dr. Jameson by messengers and telegrams, but he disregarded every warning and precipitated the crisis.

On Sunday, December 29, 1895, Dr. Jameson paraded his troopers near Mafeking and read them a letter, previously drawn up by the committee, asking him to come to the aid of Johannesburg. In reply to questions as to whether they were fighting under the Queen's orders, they were informed that they were going to fight for the supremacy of the British flag in South Africa. At that, a considerable proportion of the men withdrew, leaving 480 to make the raid.

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The force started Sunday afternoon at about five o'clock. No casualties occurred until the afternoon of Wednesday, when Krugersdorp was reached. Here the fighting lasted well on into the night, and resulted in the retreat of Dr. Jameson's force to higher ground. Next morning an attempt was made to pass around the Boer position in order to reach Johannesburg; but the Boers, following the doctor's movements with reinforcements, barred his way at Doornkop. Jameson made a desperate effort to get through and then surrendered. The Boer losses were reported to have been four killed and five wounded. The losses of the invading force were eighteen killed and about forty wounded. The prisoners were treated with every consideration by their captors, with the exception, perhaps, of Dr. Jameson himself, who was threatened by some of the unruly ones and freely hissed and hooted, but was protected by the officers in charge. It must be said of the Boers that they acted with admirable self-restraint and dignity in a position such as very few are called upon to face.

Dr. Jameson and his officers were shortly after

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sent back to England to be tried. The members of the Johannesburg committee were arrested, and on the eleventh day the majority were let out on bail. Only the signers of the letter to Dr. Jameson, calling for his aid, were kept in prison. The final result of the Reform agitation was that Mr. Lionel Phillips, Col. Francis Rhodes, brother of Cecil Rhodes, John Hays Hammond, an American mining engineer, and Mr. George Farrar were convicted of high treason and sentenced to death. The death sentence was commuted to a fine of £25,000 apiece. They were obliged to sign an agreement to abstain from politics for fifteen years, or, failing that, to submit to banishment for the same period. Fifty-six prisoners were condemned to two months' imprisonment and to pay £2,000 or, as an alternative, to suffer another year's imprisonment.

The mercy extended to Jameson and his fellow raiders, was dictated by the exigencies of statesmanship, as the vindication of justice, which would imply their death, might cause an international complication that would probably result in war.

Since 1881, the Boer government had been quiet-

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ly preparing to meet another such an emergency as arose in 1877, when Sir Theophilus Shepstone seized upon its territory and destroyed its independence. The return to power of the conservative party, headed by Salisbury, Devonshire and Chamberlain, caused the inhabitants of the Transvaal to apprehend that a repudiation of the Gladstone treaty would soon be made, and their territory reannexed to the British Crown. Of course, the Jameson raid which was conceived by British subjects and connived at by British officials, confirmed the Boers in their apprehension that the tory government contemplated the suppression of their independence and the absorption of their state into the dominion of the queen. Paul Kruger and his colleagues believing that the Salisbury administration would compel them to fight for a retention of their independence, redoubled their efforts to enable them to repel a British invasion of their territory. The heroic president of the Boer republic when speaking to Mr. Hugh O'Beirne said:

"I am in daily expectation of new trouble with Great Britain. The English tories are imperial

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A CRACK BRITISH-AUSTRALIAN VOLUNTEER.

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thieves. They robbed us before, and will try to do so again. But when next they come to plunder us, we will give them an unpleasant reception." *

* "It is now undisputed that it was with British gold and under the command of British officers that the Jameson Raid of 1895 was planned and carried out. The Uitlanders had come into the country uninvited and undesired, seeking only gold and with full warning that it was a Boer republic they were entering. By what right could these strangers of yesterday claim to be on a level with the old Burghers, who had fought and bled to keep the state free from alien control, and what Boer, looking to the past experiences of his people with the English, could guarantee that their capture of the franchise would not lead to the capture of the entire state, that the republic would not become an English republic with an English President and its original founders a despised and oppressed minority?"—*North American Review*.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

KRUGER AND MILNER MEET.

The Jameson attempted invasion, having failed to cause a direct conflict between the British and Boer governments, some other scheme became a necessity to bring about a serious quarrel. Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Alfred Milner, who had acquiesced, in an underhand way, in the plot to invade the Transvaal, were anxious to find some ground for complaint against the Kruger government. For thirteen years the English population in the mining district around Johannesburg had greatly increased, so that in 1899, it outnumbered that of the Dutch. Their exclusion from the Volksraad, while they were subject to taxation, was seized upon by Mr. Chamberlain to create a controversy between his government and that of Mr. Kruger. The conspirators had got a number of English subjects, residing in the Transvaal, to appeal to the home government for protection against laws

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which subjected them to what they called oppressive taxation. They complained that by the exceptional legislation which had been enacted concerning foreign residents, they were denied citizen rights, while they were taxed for the maintenance of the government. But for Cecil Rhodes, and his fellow conspirators, no remonstrance would have been made against the laws or government of the South African Republic. Foreigners of various nationalities had been living in the Transvaal under the conditions that governed British subjects, but they made no complaint against the laws of the country. It was the unquestionable right of the Boer government to devise and pass such legislation as was deemed indispensable to the safety and welfare of the republic. Those who were tempted to the country, because of its mineral wealth, made their homes in it under specific legislative conditions, and therefore had no legitimate ground for complaint. It is a well-known characteristic of the British people, that they are so devoted to their native country and its monarchial government, that

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they never reconcile themselves to the supremacy implied by a foreign flag. The English of Johannesburg were much pleased with their chances of becoming rapidly rich out of the resources of the Transvaal, but they were instinctively inimical to the people who owned and ruled it.

Joseph Chamberlain, when appealed to by his countrymen in the Transvaal, took up their cause with fiery zeal. Had his intervention been sought in the case of the United States, or any powerful government, under like conditions, the secretary for the colonies would not have dared to interfere. But he calculated that a demand made by him, and sustained, as it would be, by the power of the empire, would terrify the Boer government into compliance with it. The jingo imperiousness that characterized the correspondence of the Secretary for the colonies, was intended to insult the administration of the Transvaal. He based his right to interfere on the suzerainty which was a feature of the treaty of 1881, but which the Gladstone government had annulled. But even though that convention had not been superseded, the interference of the British crown

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would have been restricted under it, to the foreign relations of the South African Republic. Mr. Chamberlain's intervention in the domestic affairs of the Transvaal was therefore wholly unwarranted, and but intended to provoke a bloody conflict between England and the Boer government.

The selection of Joseph Chamberlain as Secretary of state for the colonies, was prophetic of trouble for the British empire. The political instability that characterized his previous career should have warned Lord Salisbury not to take him into his cabinet. He had been ever wayward and unreliable. He had been identified with great English parties, but proved unfaithful to all of them. He had been in turn a radical, a liberal, a unionist, and lastly a conservative. Intoxicated with his imaginary superiority, his ambition is to cause the people of the empire to believe that he possesses the power to make or unmake ministries. Joseph Chamberlain is destitute of the qualities essential to a statesman. The most salient features of his character are vanity, unscrupulousness, and imperiousness. A study of his public life would compel the conclusion that he is

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more of a politician than a patriot, more of an eccentric and arrogant egotist, than a cool, philosophic diplomat. *

All the great statesmen of England were remarkable for personal disinterestedness in the conduct of imperial affairs. That tribute cannot be paid to Joseph Chamberlain, for it is alleged of him that his family have large interests in the gold mines of the Transvaal. He is himself a large investor in a Birmingham firearms manufactory, which circumstance would naturally cause him to desire war and all the awful ills it implies. Already his firm has received large orders from the British government for guns and ammunition. The Secretary of State

* In May 1896, just after the Jameson raid, this same Joseph Chamberlain boldly declared in the House of Commons: "In some quarters the idea is put forth that the government ought to have issued an ultimatum to President Kruger, an ultimatum which would have certainly been rejected, and which must have led to war. I don't propose to discuss such a contingency as that. A war in South Africa would be one of the most serious wars that could possibly be waged. It would be in the nature of a civil war; it would be a long war; a bitter war and a costly war. It would leave behind it the embers of a strive which I believe generations would hardly be long enough to extinguish. To go to war with President Kruger in order to force upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his state, in which Secretaries of State, standing in this place, have repudiated all right of interference—that would be a course of action as immoral as it would have been unwise." And it is the same "Statesman" who is now the soul of the British aggression.

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for the Colonies, because of those considerations, had a direct but ignoble purpose in provoking a conflict between Great Britain and the South African Republic.

Mr. Chamberlain, as the willing champion of the English inhabitants of the Transvaal, demanded of the Boer government, a reduction of the residential period provided for by law to qualify immigrants for the exercise of the electoral franchise. Protracted negotiations ensued between the colonial secretary and Paul Kruger. The tone of Mr. Chamberlain's correspondence clearly indicated his determination to coerce the Boers by the employment of military force to yield to his demands. Mr. Kruger consented to a reduction of the probationary period, in order to avoid war. This concession Chamberlain regarded as an evidence of the weakness of the South African Republic, and its fear of the mighty power of England. To terrorize the Transvaal government, the British regiments in Cape Colony and Natal began to receive large reinforcements. Unless war was intended, there was no excuse for the concentration of so many troops.

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Chamberlain, finding that Mr. Kruger consented to his original proposition of a five years' residental qualification, would not accept it as a final settlement of the issue he had sinisterly provoked. It was proposed that the question in dispute be discussed between Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Kruger at Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State.

The president of the Transvaal foresaw that the object of the suggested conference was not to come to an amicable arrangement of the issue, but to protract discussion, while Mr. Chamberlain was preparing to enforce his intentions, by an overwhelming display of military force. Mr. Kruger, though consenting to meet Sir Alfred Milner, felt convinced that the British secretary was determined upon forcing war upon him. He therefore heroically resolved to take up the gage of battle, as soon as it would be thrown down to him. The Bloemfontein conference ended in a fiasco, although Paul Kruger, to avoid a conflict, had been willing to make a perilous sacrifice. In his interview with the Cape governor, he was inflexible and defiant.

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He had arranged with the government of the Orange Free State an alliance both offensive and defensive, so that he felt fortified in assuming an attitude of firmness and resolution, during his conference with Sir Alfred Milner. The latter was disappointed and surprised by Mr. Kruger's display of inflexibility. Annoyed by it, he said, "It cannot be possible, Mr. President, that you mean to force my government to adopt extreme measures for the protection of its subjects." The patriotic old statesman replied:

"Sir Alfred Milner, the South African Republic has done no wrong to those you regard as subjects of the British crown. They, and other foreign people, came to our territory uninvited. If they were dissatisfied with the laws of our republic, they were free to leave our territory, and live under the English flag in the colonies of the queen. The issue between your government and ours, has been causelessly created by Her Majesty's Colonial Secretary. We desire peace and are willing to yield much to ensure it. Your government interpreted our efforts for continued friendship as an evidence of submission to superior power. The troops that are constantly being sent to South Africa can be looked upon only as an evidence that it is your government, not ours, that means to employ extreme measures. The Lord of heaven is more powerful

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than sovereigns of earth. As our cause is just, He will be our friend in the hour of trial."

The foreign policy of British conservatives has been signalized by jingoism, which implies a disposition to provoke quarrels with inferior powers, in order to make war upon them. The extension of the empire is an unchangeable trait of all tory administrations. The Salisbury government, through the influence of Joseph Chamberlain, was determined to realize the design of the Beaconsfield cabinet, by uniting under the British crown, all the states of South Africa. An effort of that nature had been made in 1886, and would have succeeded but for the intervention of Paul Kruger, who gave it stubborn resistance. The ambition of British conservatives is to control all East Africa, from the Cape to Cairo. It was contemplated to make exchanges of territory with Germany, Portugal, and other countries, who have interests on the eastern side of the continent. The project could not be carried out while the South African Republics stood in the way of its accomplishment. It was therefore determined to forcibly annex them, should their

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laws not be so changed as to afford a prospect of bringing the two States under British control, through an extension of the electoral franchise. The unalterable aspiration of the British conservatives is the annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Joseph Chamberlain resolved to employ all the resources of his government to realize this ambition. To intimidate the president and people of the South African Republic, he sent an extraordinary military force into the peninsula. He intended it to be of such an overwhelming character that it would render resistance an impossibility, and so terrify the Boers that they would accede to any terms he might dictate to them.

The British tories, when in power, never consult the popular will in relation to their foreign policy. They proceed, regardless of the national sentiment, calculating that the people of the empire will have to endorse the acts of their government. If the electors of Great Britain and Ireland had been given the opportunity of pronouncing upon the South African policy of the Salisbury administration, it would have been as emphatically condemned as

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that of the Beaconsfield government, in 1880. The conservatives never foreshadow their foreign policy, which has ever been characterized by conquest and territorial annexation. It quails before the strong, and only assails and plunders the weak. The British people are never the advocates of wrong, but neither do they insist upon reparation being made to those whom their nation has injured. It is proverbial of them, that their national pride often renders them disregardful of the simplest tenets of justice. They have but one ambition when their country is at war. Their hearts are with the army of the queen. Their desire is that it may win military glory for itself and the empire. The cause for which their soldiers fight might have met with their absolute disapproval had they been consulted before war was undertaken. But when the imperial sword is drawn, the motives that caused it to be unsheathed are never considered. The mind of the British nation becomes unbalanced by war. It is capable of but one thought, and that is centered upon the army in the field.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

UNWARRANTED PREDICTION OF THE BOERS' ULTIMATE DEFEAT.

The government of the Orange Free State, like that of the Transvaal, anticipating the inevitability of war, in defense of its independence, had been silently preparing for it. Its fate would be foreshadowed by that of the South African Republic. The safety of the one depended upon the security of the other. The existence of both, as self-governing states, can only be hoped for through a unification of their resources and a fraternal alliance for defense against a common foe. Such a combination renders the difficulties of an invading force incomparably greater. The enlarged frontiers resulting from the coalition of the two states, would compel the employment of an army that would dangerously strain the resources of even such a gigantic power as Great Britain.

Joseph Chamberlain, having compromised the

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Salisbury government by an ill-concealed alliance with a cabal of unscrupulous capitalists, has compelled his sovereign to stake the integrity of her empire and the prestige of her army upon the issue he has provoked. Great Britain never undertook a more unjustifiable war than that in which she is at present engaged. The motives that inspired it were cupidity, spoliation and imperial expansion. There was no people, since the dawn of history, whose rights have been more wantonly invaded than those of the Boers of South Africa. Their heroic devotion to freedom was never exceeded by that of any race or nationality. To secure it for themselves, and leave it as a legacy to their children, they fought and bled with an unconquerable courage that commands the admiration of the chivalrous and freedom loving all over the globe.

What the outcome of the Anglo-Boer war may be, can only be guessed by a survey of the resources and military strength of each belligerent. The opinion of the majority of writers and war critics is that Great Britain shall be triumphant. Their speculation so far has been based on the known re-

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sources and power of England, without sufficient investigation as to the means at the disposal of the Boers, to oppose such a formidable enemy. There has been a strange ignorance in relation to the military capability of the African Republics. It seems as if the English government had been mystified in relation to it. Had Lord Salisbury anticipated that the Boers could reveal such genius, valor, and strength as they have displayed, he certainly would not have allowed Mr. Chamberlain to involve the empire in a war that is calculated to imperil its stability.

Most writers are disposed to regard the army of England as invincible. It should be remembered that Great Britain has not yet demonstrated that she possesses superior military power, by a conflict with any of the great nations of the world. Since the Crimean war, her armies only encountered the hordes of uncivilized chiefs, whose territories she desired to annex. The superiority of her armament, rather than the genius of her generals, or the valor of her soldiers, enabled her to defeat the ill-armed and untrained savages against whom she contend-

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ed. The only white race the British legions battled with within a half century, is the one they are fighting with to-day.

It has been shown in these pages, that the Boers of the Transvaal defeated and humiliated England, less than two decades ago. Since then the ability of the African Dutch to resist aggression has been intensified. They are at present not inferior to the British in artillery, war munitions—and generals. Only in the number of her troops has England an advantage over her enemy. That, however, is more than counterbalanced by the almost insuperable obstacles which a valiant people, fighting on their own soil, can oppose to an invading army. A survey of the area over which the soldiers of Great Britain must fight, before her imperial flag shall wave over Pretoria and Bloemfontein, should cause hesitation before uttering a prophesy as to the outcome of the war. It should not be forgotten that it will strain the energies of England to keep her vast army in South Africa supplied with food and war material. The farther the troops of the queen advance from the Cape or Durban, the more difficult

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it shall be to furnish them with the necessities of war. In a country whose population is hostile to the British, the peril is, that their bases of supply shall be cut off, which would compel surrender. To secure them against such a danger, a force as large as that engaged by the enemy shall be needed to keep communications with the rear constantly open.

In the face of such foes as confront the soldiers of Queen Victoria, whose determination is to exhaust their last resource, before yielding to the invaders of their country, it is hazardous to predict the outcome of the South African war. The power and valor which the Boers have displayed since the commencement of hostilities, does not foreshadow defeat for them. They are at present far stronger in men and fighting material than when they declared war. Volunteers have flocked to their aid, from various countries of the world. France, Austria and Germany have given to the armies of the African republics many able and distinguished commanders. Their services have already enabled the Boers to win victories over the soldiers of Great

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Britain, who were once regarded to be the best trained and equipped troops in the world. If all these considerations be taken into account, the result of the present war is scarcely within the grasp of reasonable comprehension.

The conditions which characterize the war in South Africa are analagous to those which signalized the conflict between the American colonists and the British, in 1776. The English, while fighting the Boers, have to transport their infantry, cavalry, war munitions and commissary stores, over seven thousand miles of ocean. Notwithstanding the marvelous revolution in navigation which has occurred since the American war for independence, it will greatly tax the vast means of Great Britain to wage a protracted war in South Africa. There is no nation so dependent for its food supplies as is England. Two-thirds of her necessities in that line have to be contributed by foreign peoples. To support, in a hostile country, such a gigantic force as she will have to maintain, should war be of long duration, will be a problem of difficult solution. England, though mighty on the ocean, is decidedly

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weak as a military power. To secure her numerous colonies from the aggression of jealous rivals, she requires an army very much larger than the one she has at present. The South African war has placed her in the most perilous position she has occupied since the beginning of her history. Because of it, her imperial integrity is dependent upon the toleration which European nations may extend to her. She would, in the crisis which Chamberlain has created, be powerless to resist an invasion of her Indian empire, should the Czar be fired with the ambition of Empress Catherine, or of his great-grandfather, the late Czar Nicholas.

Great Britain stands isolated among the nations of Europe. The only power that can be regarded as friendly to her is Germany; but his sovereign would be opposed by the great mass of his people should he attempt to aid England in her present embarrassment. The Anglo-Boer war affords to Russia an opportunity it has desired since the days of Peter the Great. The Czar, while England is engaged, would be free to overwhelm the power of the Osmanli, and make Constantinople the metropolis of

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his vast empire. Such an enterprise, if undertaken by the Emperor of Russia, would be as unresisted by Austria and Germany, as was the invasion of Turkish territory by his imperial ancestor, in 1854. France, as the implacable enemy of England, would abet such a scheme of conquest, receiving in compensation Egypt or some other division of Great Britain's vast domain. Until the present war, England preserved the balance of power in Europe. It was she alone that saved from dismemberment and absorption the empire of the Sultan. But the conflict in which she is now engaged, renders her unable to aid the infirm Turk, should any one of the great nations make war upon him. The South African conflict is premonitory of a revolution in the present conditions of the old world. It foreshadows new divisions and arrangements of the globe, for which Europe has been preparing since Nesselrode, Cavour and Bismarck aroused it from a long lethargy of peace.

The jingo policy of the English conservatives, has plunged the empire into a war from which no honor can accrue, and which compromises it as a military

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power, in the eyes of all the nations of the world. How the two little republics of South Africa so secretly fortified themselves to resist aggression of such a formidable character as the one they are now fighting against, is scarcely comprehensible. Until the contending forces faced each other on British territory, the extraordinary strength of the Boers was unknown to even the officials of the crown in South Africa. The effect of the revelation and its immediate, disastrous consequences has been humiliation, such as England never before experienced. The number of officers who were killed in the battles which have been fought has no parallel in the history of war. Their fall has brought sorrow to most of the aristocratic houses of the British empire. But the awful struggle is only in its initial stage; its progress will prove infinitely more sanguinary and appalling. The dread prospect is, that every noble family in England will have cause for mourning before the unrighteous war which Joseph Chamberlain has provoked shall come to an end.

The repeated reverses suffered by the British

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troops in South Africa, have so infuriated the people and press of England that they disregard the wantoness of the original cause of war, and clamor for vengeance on the Boers. The wild passion for revenge that inflames the British people in the present, is identical with that which was excited in 1881, by the defeat suffered by the soldiers of the queen at Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill. Still, when the popular cry for vengeance was loudest, the government availed itself of the intervention of President Brand of the Orange Free State for a suspension of hostilities, which culminated in a treaty that guaranteed self-government to the Boers. If the situation of the hostile forces in South Africa be dispassionately examined, the outlook would not justify the conclusion at which most writers have arrived in relation to the war. The foe that England is battling with has displayed strength and genius which surprises the world. For valor and determination, the African Dutch are not surpassed by the soldiers of any nation on the globe. Even though they be forced from British territory, where they are at present fighting, they can still continue

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on their own soil, under still more encouraging conditions, a struggle for national independence, which shall so weaken the military power of Great Britain, that its queen and government may become anxious for intervention to secure peace and ensure the empire itself from possible disintegration.

Predictions as to the outcome of the war, have been ventured by writers unconversant with the military strength of the two republics. So far as the war has proceeded, it has afforded no reasonable ground for the presumption that the result of it will be adverse to the Boers. Up to the present, there is a complete absence of proof that, in Africa, Great Britain is superior to her enemy. The calculations indulged in at first were based on the supposed invincibility of England, and the comparative paucity of the Boer population of the South African republics. There seemed to be a disposition to minimize the number of the white element in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. That is represented as not being more than 323,000, on which a calculation has been made, that gave to the two states an aggregate military force of 35,000. The total pop-

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ulation of the two republics, over an area of 166,000 square miles, is 1,330,000. The black population in both states amounts to 820,000, which shows that there are over 500,000 white inhabitants in the two territories. * That estimated population would give, according to the ratio adopted by several writers, a military population of over 55,000 men. But those calculations only indicate the domestic strength of the two republics, which is certain to be vastly augmented by Dutch volunteers from all the South African states under the English crown.†

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* To give an idea of the normal growth of the Boer families, let recall the fact, that in 1878, there were only 40,000 whites and 300,000 negroes in Transvaal; in the Orange Free State, 30,000 whites and 15,000 negroes. As late as 1880 a famous Scotch traveler wrote about the kindly treatment of the Boers towards their black servants and the devotion of the latter toward their masters.

† The official British statistics furnish no clew as regards the number of Dutch, but the church registers of the three great Dutch churches do. These are the *Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Kerk* the *Nederduitsche Hervormde Kerk*, and the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk*, with a registered membership of 350,000. All these may be reckoned as sympathizers with the Boers. Dutch Afrikanders of the towns and mines who have been Anglicized are not included in this estimate. But even with these, the English element number hardly 140,000, exclusive of the troops, as there are 10,000 to 20 000 of other nationalities. Of the white pupulation in the republics, 330,000 are Boers, 90,000 British, and 50,000 other "Uitlanders." Throughout all South Africa there are 645,000 Boers, 245,000 British, and 90,000 other whites.

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Besides there is at present a comparatively large foreign element, from various countries, fighting with the Boers, which may be moderately estimated at 8,000. The latter number is being constantly increased, as the cause for which the little republics are fighting, commands and is receiving the sympathy of the civilized world—the British people alone excepted. It would not be unreasonable to estimate the Boer strength in the field at 80,000, fighting on its own soil. Great Britain will be compelled to oppose it with an army of 250,000 men, to afford her a prospect of victory, because of the necessity of preserving unbroken her long lines of communications in a hostile country. A great difficulty that England will encounter during the campaign, is the maintenance of her cavalry. Her horses are certain to suffer through lack of both provender and water, and are further liable to distempers peculiar to an African climate. Insufficient rail connection is another disadvantage against which the British will have to contend. The expedition of the English to the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, recalls that of Xerxes into Scy-

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thia, which country he was obliged to abandon because of the state of starvation of his soldiers. If the situation of the contending forces in South Africa, be minutely surveyed, and the conditions that characterize the awful struggle be dispassionately considered, nothing at present justifies the prediction that the Boers will be beaten.

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APPENDIX

The Boers' Ultimatum.

The governments of the African republics, having abandoned hope of a peaceable solution of the difficulty between them and Great Britain, determined to be first to initiate what they regarded as inevitable. There was a growing discontent among the Boer warriors, at being held in check by what they interpreted as timidity on the part of Paul Kruger. They apprehended that delay would prove the ruin of their cause, as the British were daily augmenting their strength, to strike a crushing blow. The venerable statesman was desirous that England would be the first to declare war, so as to better secure the sympathy of the world for his cause. For more than two weeks, he resisted the recommendations of the European officers, to invade British territory while England was yet but in a condition of imperfect preparation. Joubert and Cronje emulated the foreign officers in urging upon the cautious president the necessity for immediate action.

On October 8, 1899, at a war council in Pretoria, it was determined to allow Great Britain but forty-eight hours to withdraw the forces she had been concentrating in South Africa, since the previous month of June. On the following day, viz., October 9, an ultimatum was issued, which gave England two days from that date, to decide upon the course she would pursue. It read as follows:

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"First—That all points of mutual difference be regulated by friendly recourse to arbitration, or by whatever amicable way may be agreed upon by this Government and Her Majesty's Government.

"Second—That all troops on the borders of this Republic shall be instantly withdrawn.

"Third—That all reinforcements of troops which have arrived in South Africa since June 1, 1899, shall be removed from South Africa within a reasonable time to be agreed upon with this Government and with the mutual assurance and guarantee on the part of this Government that no attack upon or hostilities against any portion of the possessions of the British Government shall be made by this Republic during the further negotiations, within a period of time to be subsequently agreed upon between the Governments; and this Government will, on compliance therewith be prepared to withdraw the armed burghers of this Republic from the borders.

"Fourth—That Her Majesty's troops which are now on the high seas shall not be landed in any part of South Africa.

"This Government presses for an immediate and affirmative answer to these four questions and earnestly requests Her Majesty's Government to return an answer before or upon Wednesday, October 11, 1899, not later than 5 o'clock P. M.

"It desires further to add that in the unexpected event of an answer not satisfactory being received by it within the interval, it will with great regret be compelled to regard the action of Her Majesty's Government as a formal declaration of war and will not hold itself responsible for the consequences thereof, and that, in the event of any further move-

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ment of troops occurring within the above-mentioned time in a nearer direction to our borders, this Government will be compelled to regard that also as a formal declaration of war."

The Qualities of the Boer Soldiers Judged by a European Military Expert.

A French officer who was allowed a leave of absence from his regiment and took service under Joubert, wrote as follows to a friend in Amiens. The latter is an Irish lady who has lived in France for more than twenty years, and is identified with the highest circles of society in that country.

Dear Madam:—I avail myself of the return to Europe of our friend Captain C— to send you in redemption of my promise to you, the information you are desirous to obtain. Colonel V— and I reached Pretoria, via Lorenzo Marquez, on September 2. We at once saw Mr. Kruger, who is truly a remarkable man. Our arrival seemed to have delighted him. Addressing us he said:

"It is great encouragement to us to find you gallant Frenchmen coming to aid us in our trouble. I have done my best to avoid war, but England is forcing it upon us. She is determined to take our country from us and make our people subject to her power. Never will the African Dutch yield to her hired soldiers. We are patriots who love freedom. The British are robbers who only fight for plunder. Trusting in the God of justice to aid

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us in a fight that England is provoking, we now with confidence in our valor and our strength, await the coming of the final hour for our men to take the field."

I was deeply impressed by the words of the heroic and aged statesman. In the simplicity of his manner, his devotion to his country and the courage of his soul, he is an African Cincinnatus. His home is in strict conformity with his instinctive modesty. Although the most exalted person in the republic, his style of living is as unostentatious as that of a farmer on the veldt. He treated us to some splendid cigars, while himself used a corn pipe which was given to him by an American officer who has volunteered his services to the republics. I have met, in both the Transvaal and the Orange Country, a number of distinguished military men from various parts of Europe. Colonel V— and I have had several conferences with them.

There is no country in the world easier to defend than is the Transvaal territory. Nature has fortified it exceptionally well against an invading army. A small number of brave men, such as I believe the Boers to be, can hold it indefinitely against all the force that England can command. The Colonel and I were surprised by the resources which have been revealed to us. They far exceed the conception we had formed, notwithstanding the encouraging representations made to us in Paris. The republics have in readiness over two hundred of the most approved of modern guns. The majority of them are of French design. The small arms are mainly Mausers, which the Boers use with unerring expertness. I have seen them practice with them at various ranges, up to two thousand meters. I was astonished by their accuracy of aim. There are

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no soldiers in the world who can excel them in marksmanship. They can shoot in all positions, whether standing, lying, or on horseback. The Boer arsenals are supplied with munitions, comparatively inexhaustible. The republics are in a position to keep the field for years. The men as they arrive, are being formed into regiments. The progress they have made in military training, within two weeks, is unprecedented. Young fellows and old men, arrive hourly from all parts of the state, mounted on well-knit and spirited horses. Some of them bring two animals. The women are no less ardent than the men in their manifestation of courage and patriotism. They are accompanying their fathers and brothers to the battlefield, to share in their perils, and to nurse the wounded. Such a people I look upon as being invincible.

An interesting anecdote was told to me, yesterday, in relation to a handsome young Dutch girl named Bakhuizen, who was to have been married to a young farmer named Odendaal, on September 20. Every preparation had been made for the wedding. The lovers lived a long distance apart, but when the prospective bridegroom and his friends arrived, Miss Bakhuizen, with tearful eyes, told the young man that before she could become his wife, he should first fight in defense of his country. "Wilhem," she said, "you are sure of my love, but in this hour of danger, our first duty is to keep the British from our homes. I know you are a patriot. Get ready to fight the enemy of our freedom, and when our country and our homes are safe, then I will become your joyful bride. I am ready to accompany you to the battlefield."

The young girl was so resolute in her purpose

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that the wedding was postponed. I met, both in Pretoria and Johannesburg, a number of women as patriotic and brave as Miss Bakhuizen; prominent among whom was Mrs. Joubert, wife of the commandant in chief of the Boers. She, too, is determined to share the perils to which her husband shall be exposed. England has not yet declared war, although hastening preparations for it. While I am writing, Paul Kruger is being urged to anticipate a British attack by ordering the occupation of Natal. A council of the European and native officers has unanimously decided upon the wisdom of such a policy. Twenty-five thousand men are now close to the Draakenberg range. They are anxious for an order to march through its passes. When war begins, the republics will have available, about sixty-five thousand men with twenty thousand more in prospect.

Volunteers from various countries, are coming here in expectation of a war. There are Germans, Americans, French and Irish. There are over two thousand of the latter. They seem to be intensely hostile to the British. Several of them, I have been told, have deserted from the service of the queen. They are a jolly lot of fellows who indulge in pastimes peculiar to their country. Among a group of them, I saw a young fellow with a fine voice, singing to a stirring melody, a song which seemed to make his companions wildly joyous. Attracted by their humor as well as by the sweet voice of the singer, I stood until the song was finished. It is an English translation of a lyric written by a Dutch poet, and as it expresses the ardent patriotism as well as the hostile sentiments of the Boers, I send you a copy of it, which one of the Irish officers procured for me."

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We go, we go, to meet the foe,
  The Draakenberg beyond;
No Boer brave, shall be a slave,
  For Britain's queen to bond.
Let England brag, but soon her flag
  We'll trample 'neath our feet;
For we will fight by day and night,
  The red coat horde to beat.

Sing out, sing out, the glorious shout,
  Of freedom for our land;
Let foemen hear your daring cheer,
  When on their soil you stand;
They soon shall quail before the hail
  That through their ranks we'll sweep;
Our flying lead, their blood shall shed,
  And give them wakeless sleep.

We'll fight, we'll fight, with deadly might,
  Our freedom to defend;
On war's red field we ne'er will yield,
  Or to the Briton bend.
In triumph high our flag shall fly
  O'er veldt and craggy kop;
And Kruger great we will elate
  Before the fight shall stop.

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The Foreign Contingents in the Boer Army.

"We looked upon that banner
  And the memory arose
Of our homes and perished kindred,
  Where the Lee or Shannon flows;
We looked upon that banner
  And we swore to God on High,
To-day to smite the Saxon's might
  To conquer or to die!"

Bartholomew Dowling's heart-stirring lines fittingly introduce the thrilling description of the charge of the Irish Brigade near Ladysmith, given in a letter from James F. Dunn, an Irishman, of Lowell, U. S. A., who is serving in South Africa. We print those passages dealing directly with an incident of the deepest and keenest interest to Irishmen. Mr. Dunn wrote on November 20th:—

"When the war broke out brigades of foreigners were organized at once. The Germans have a brigade of 2,000 men and more, nearly all men trained in the army in Germany and commanded by men of their own country—trained officers. There is a mixed brigade of French, Scotch and English, who have their own officers, and they are doing good work.

"We have an Irish brigade of over 2,500, the majority of whom are men from California and the West, with quite a sprinkling from the old country and the Cape. Our commander is Colonel Blake, a West Pointer, who used to be in the regular

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cavalry at home, and a jim dandy, a fighter and a tactician that West Point may be proud of.

"We are getting new men every day; they come in from Lourenzo Marques, and are from every country in Europe and the States. The Americans are mostly husky young fellows from the Middle West, who have served in the Spanish war and in the regular army, and we have quite a few from round Boston, New York and Philadelphia. All these fellows, Irish, German and Yank, get into our brigade, for they feel more at home with us, under officers and men who have followed the old flag, and they are giving the 'Red Necks,' as the Boers call them, plenty of fun.

"It was our brigade—we had about 1,200 on the firing line that day—that scooped in the Irish Fusiliers at Dundee, and had the Boer contingent had more experience in military matters we could have got the whole of Yule's bunch, horse, foot, and wagons, for I never saw a worse beaten, demoralized crowd than that same British army. They are mostly pushing the Scotch and Irish regiments against us, and we are able to take care of them. They may have English regiments, but they keep them back in reserve, for we haven't seen them, though we are red-hot to get a crack at them.

"General Joubert is a foxy old chap, and refuses to let us take any chances that are uncertain, and he is dead against any military grandstand tactics. He won't allow any charges or attacks on fortified places; he makes the British do that business, and then he soaks them The consequence is that the English lose five men wounded and killed where we lose one.

"The English artillery is fairly good, though

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their guns are not up to ours; but their infantry and cavalry can't hit a flock of barns. We are now entrenched around Ladysmith, with a strong force down at the fords of the Tugela, fortifying and waiting for that advance of the British we are promised; and we have lots of commandoes chasing down through Natal to keep the flies off the enemy.

"They used to make sorties and rush hills, but we had orders to drop back and let them rush; and when they got tired we occupied our old positions and soaked them as they limped back to camp. They were wearying themselves out. A few days ago they came out in strength, and when the Boers retired, Blake held to our position, and we waited for them, running up the green flag to make them raw. The Boers don't carry bayonets; the Irish brigade does. They shelled our position for an hour, dropping shells over us and beyond us, but doing no particular harm. Blake passed the word along the line to wait and give them a good fight. A real English regiment came at our position and their officer called and urged them on.

"I am in Cassidy's company—he is an Arizona man—and we have half a dozen fellows, ex-regulars, from Tucson, who are dead shots. We lay low, squinting over the breastworks while our Tucson fellows tumbled over officer after officer. When they reached the foot of the hill, Blake ordered us to cease firing and told a few men from each company to yell, jump up, and pretend to run away. This encouraged the Johnnies to cheer, and they came up the hill panting and shooting wildly. When about a hundred feet from us we let them have it, from Mauser, Mannlicher, and Maxim, and Blake yelled, 'Now, boys, give them a taste of the

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real thing!' The cheer that went up could be heard a mile off and we went over the entrenchments at them with the bayonet.

"Surprised? Lord! You never saw anything like it. A volley point blank and then the metal. We went at them in good Irish fashion, and some of the Yank and Ohio chaps were wilder than the Turks. The redcoats wouldn't stand for it, but went down the hill on a break and out into the open, sprinting like greyhounds.

"We marched back about sixty of them, and there was a badly mauled lot lying around that we sent into the English lines that night, as we preferred to let them have the bother of doctoring them. They won't be very hot to rush a hill with a green flag over it again, I imagine. The regiment was Gloucestershire or some other such name—I don't recall it just now—and if they don't get any better material than that to fight us the English are more likely to march into the Indian Ocean than into the Transvaal.

"The only place where any of our side got caught at all was at Elandslaagte, where a small party of Boers, who hung to a kopje too long, fighting the British in front of them, did not see a lot of Lancers and others who came up behind and caught them. The Lancers acted as if fighting Indians, and gave no quarter, stabbing and murdering prisoners and wounding in horrible fashion, just like a lot of Sioux. It is said their officers are responsible for this dastardly work, but it makes little difference to us.

"That lot of gentry are down in our black book, and if the opportunity presents itself—and I know it will, since there are some of them in Ladysmith—we will wipe that regiment off the rolls. The

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word has been passed along the line, no mercy and no quarter for any man of the Lancers—no prisoners will be taken from that pack of curs. It's a sort of a dangerous game for the Johnnies to start, as we have nearly 3,000 prisoners, officers and men, in Pretoria, and old man Kruger won't stand any nonsense. The British have got to understand that they are up against white men now and not niggers; if they don't get down to civilized fighting right off, there will be mourning in England from Tweed to the Channel.

"Fifty men joined us last Monday from the States, fellows who had been in the American service. Three of them, Nelligan, Talbot, and Jackson, were in the Ninth Mass., and Farrell and Derosier are young chaps from Chicopee, who were in the Second, I believe, in Cuba. The rest were mostly from New York and Chicago.

"The Irish Fusiliers we captured at Dundee didn't seem to be very sorry they were taken, and were sort of tickled when they knew our brigade had them. They retreated into a cattle pen—they call them kraals here—on the side of a hill, and were going to put up a fight when they saw our flag. Colonel Blake sent Major O'Hara and Captain Pollard (I think he is a Buffalo man) in with a flag of truce and demanded their surrender, and they came out and laid down their arms. They are a good-looking lot of chaps, but they ought to be on our side. Judging from their talk, as we escorted them to the railroad, whence we sent them to Pretoria, they are not very much stuck on the Queen's service, and they say that they and the Highlanders are shoved into everything, while the English are kept back out of harm's way. They

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will get a chance, I imagine, later on, to come over on the Lord's side.

"I don't know when I'll get a chance to write again. Address me at Pretoria, Cassidy's Company of Colonel Blake's commando, and I'll get it in good time, if I'm alive.—Yours as ever,

"JAMES F. DUNN."

The British-Boer Campaign

Up to February 10th, 1900.

October 12—The British reply to President Kruger's ultimatum being unsatisfactory, the Transvaal Boers invade Natal, advancing toward Newcastle, where the British, under Generals White and Symons, were on the defensive.

October 13—The British evacuate Newcastle and fall back on Ladysmith, where there is a strong British force, with large stores.

October 20—The siege of Kimberley by the Boers begins.

October 20—Battle of Dundee in Natal, in which the British repulsed the Boers; British loss 215 in killed and wounded.

October 21—Battle of Elandslaagte; General French captures the Boers' position; British loss in killed and wounded, 257.

October 24—General White repulses a Free State force at Rietfontein, near Ladysmith.

October 29—The siege of Ladysmith by the Boers begins.

October 30—In a sortie near Ladysmith, the British are entrapped and defeated, and the Boers capture 870 prisoners.

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November 2—Communication with Ladysmith cut off by the Boers. The beleaguered force manage to send news by carrier-pigeon and by means of the heliograph.

November 3—The British evacuate Colenso in Natal.

November 6—The Boers shell Mafeking, but an attack on the British position is repulsed.

November 9—The first British transport carrying re-enforcements reaches Cape Town and procedes to Durban.

November 16—A British armored train near Eastcourt, Natal, is wrecked by the Boers and fifty-six prisoners, including Winston Churchill, are captured.

November 23—Near Gras-Pan, Lord Methuen attacks the Boers and drives them from their positions.

November 26—Battle of Modder River, a sanguinary British victory.

December 10—The British under General Gatacre are led into a Boer ambuscade near Stromberg Junction and lose 1,000 men, including 672 captured.

December 10-11—Lord Methuen fails to take the Boer positions at Spytfontein after a desperate fighting and heavy losses; General Wauchope, heading the Highland brigade, killed.

December 15—General Buller severely defeated while attempting to force the Tugela River, near Colenso; his loss over 1,200 men and eleven guns. British losses to date in killed, wounded and missing, 7,630.

December 18—Field Marshal, Lord Roberts of Candahar appointed General-in-chief of

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British forces in South Africa. General Lord Kitchener, Sirdar of the Egyptian army, appointed Chief of Staff of Lord Roberts. 50,000 more men ordered to the front.

December 20—Organization of a corps of 10,000 yeomen (rough riders), Lord Chesham in command.

December 27—A dash of the British out of Ladysmith results in heavy losses for the Queen's troops.

December 31—The British seize the German mail steamer "Bundesrath" on its way to Delagoa Bay. After strong protest from Kaiser William II, the steamer is released.

January 7, 1900—A vigorous attack of the Boers upon the defenses of Ladysmith, victoriously repulsed by General Sir George White, in command.

January 7—Portion of the Suffolk regiment captured by the Boers.

January 10—Arrival of Generals Roberts and Kitchener at Cape Town. Seizure of the German mail-steamer "General". (Later released as containing no contraband.)

January 12—Losses of the English in the battle of the 7th: forty-eight officers and over 800 non-commissioned officers and men.

January 13—Second advance of Gen. Buller upon Ladysmith.

January 18—General Buller's Army crosses the Tugela in its advance march.

January 20—General Clery, of Buller's army, captures Spion Kopje, the Boers, in small force, being taken by surprise.

January 23—The British, General Warren in com-

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mand, driven back from Spion Kopje and the neighboring heights. General Buller obliged to retreat toward the Tugela. His second attempt to relieve Ladysmith fails utterly. The Boer General who was in command at Spion Kopje was Com. Hans Botha.

January 30—British killed to date.....2486
British wounded to date.....4811
British captured to date.....2226

	Total,	9523
British troops in South Africa		116,000
Natal Troops		7,158
Cape Colony Troops		21,100
	Total,	144,258
British en route to Africa	22,226	
Infantry ready to embark	11,000	
Cavalry ready to embark	9,000	
Yeomen ready to embark	5,000	47,222
	Total,	191,400

No statement of losses issued by the Boer Commanders.

February 2—General Buller announces that he will be in Ladysmith inside of a week. Gen. Roberts asks the British government for 90,000 more men.

February 3—Gen. Buller starts his third forward movement.

February 5—Parliament, by a large majority, sustains the ministry and the present war.

February 10—Third retreat of General Buller over the Tugela River.

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A SHORT VOCABULARY

—OF—

WORDS AND TERMINATIONS FREQUENTLY MET WITH IN THE REPORTS OF THE BOER-BRITISH CAMPAIGN.

Berg.....Mountain.
Boer.....Farmer; name given te the Dutch settlers in South Africa.
Bosch.....Wood, forest, bush.
Burg..... City.
Burgher.....Citizen; name given to Boer citizen soldiery.
Dal.....Valley.
Dam.....Embankment, levee.
Dorp.....Village.
Drift.....Ford.
Fontein.....Fountain: spring of water.
Foort.....Stronghold.
Groote.....Great, large.
Hoop.....Height, pile.
Kaap.....Cap.
Kop or **Kopje**..Top of hill.
Kraal.....Native African village.
Kroon.....Crown, top.
Kuil.....Cave.
Laager.....Camp.
Laagte.....Valley.
Leeuw.....Lion.
Nek.....Neck, mountain pass.
Pan.....Skull, rounded hillock.
Plat.....Plateau, flat span of high ground.
Spruit.....Incline of land leading to a ford.
Stad.....City.
Staat.....State.
Stroom.....River.
Trek.....Wagon travel over the veldt (*which see*).
Uitlander.....Alien, foreigner.
Veldt.....African prairie.
Wadde.....Ford.

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